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ART. I. *An Essay on Grammar; the principles of which are exemplified in an English Grammar;* by James P. Wilson, D. D. Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, in the City of Philadelphia. “Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est.”

Hor.

GRAMMATICAL knowledge is the true foundation upon which all literature, properly so called, ought to be raised. The source of our acquirement, as well of a vernacular idiom as of any other, is imitation—an instinct, that leads to the attainment of a correct proficiency, only when the models on which it forms itself are unexceptionably pure. But, it rarely happens that these are such as can be relied upon. The parents of Cicero, we are told, were, on this account, careful to confine the conversation of their son to persons speaking a pure latinity, and would on no account permit a defective dialect to intermix with his intercourse. The nurses of the family, it is recorded, spoke the language of Rome immaculately, which was considered an indispensable requisite for the imitation of the future orator. But, in spite of every precaution, error will interfere, and be insensibly adopted. Books, from which so considerable a portion of our knowledge is derived, are not free from ungrammatical construction, while speech is ever liable to numerous deformities from negligence and corruption. It is necessary, on this account, to establish some standard for the observance of all who claim pretensions to a liberal education, and as a defence against barbarism, which might otherwise embarrass those who seek to express themselves with propriety and accuracy. The mind requires the assistance of rules to enable it to judge of phrases and forms of construction with any degree of certainty, and to have these rules illustrated by examples, in order to render them familiar. Hence the utility of the labours of the grammarian.

On the other hand, a critical skill has sometimes been wasted in cases where the obvious line of propriety and good sense needed neither extraordinary subtlety nor parade of learning in the research; such probably, as Quintilian had in view, when he ob-

served, "it becomes an able grammarian to know, that there are some things not worth his knowledge."

Dr. Wilson's Essay is in part a corollary from the principles laid down by his predecessors in the same path, Sanctius, Scioppius, Vossius, Monboddo, Harris, Horne Tooke, Kaimes, &c. In cases where there is a collision of sentiment, he has the merit of improving upon these, summing up briefly, and deciding judiciously between the opinions left us by the most eminent of philologists, ancient and modern. In this, he has been of practical service, contributing to render their speculations available in quarters where, otherwise, they must have remained probably unknown. We have, as yet, too few public libraries in which such writers ought to have place, and, from a variety of causes, they seldom find their way into private collections, principally because little encouragement is given to the cultivation of this branch of knowledge, and the belief is not sufficiently established, that money can never be better expended than in the purchase of erudition.

A considerable portion of the work under notice is devoted to tracing the affinities of speech, from a comparison of the grammars of different tongues. Dr. Wilson, as a scholar, may be expected to be intimately acquainted with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English languages; and his qualifications eminently fitted him for this task. It would have swollen his little volume beyond the present intention of the author perhaps, to embrace other sources of inquiry, still further illustrative of some important points, but it is worthy of his notice to remark, that other tongues present a fertile field to his investigation, such as the Arabick, the Sanscrit, the Bengalee, &c. Of the Sanscrit, Sir Wm. Jones has said,* that "it is more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more excellently refined than either." The analogy which it bears to other languages is thus stated by that great philosopher, whose critical knowledge of the languages mentioned, with all the varieties of Hindu dialect, entitle his opinion to a degree of authority which the present disquisition is far from claiming.

'That the first race of Persians and Indians, to whom we may add the Romans and Greeks, the Goths and old Egyptians, or Ethiops, originally spoke the same language, and professed the same popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestible proof; that the Jews and Arabs, the Assyrians or second Persian race, the people who spoke Syriac, and a numerous tribe of Abyssinians, used one primitive dialect, is, I believe undisputed, and I am sure indisputable.'

To demonstrate this proposition would require all the learning of that celebrated writer, which it is not attempted here to supply. A few words are before us, that may afford an idea in support of his position.

* Asiatic Researches.

| <i>Sanscrit.</i> | <i>Latin.</i> | <i>Persian.</i> | <i>German.</i> | <i>English.</i> |
|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| rit | rite | | recht | rightly. |
| matara | mater | mader | muder | { mother |
| | | | | { maternal. |
| pada | pede abl. <i>Gr.</i> ποδά | pā | fuss | { foot |
| | | | | { pedal. |
| danta | dente abl. | dindan | | { teeth |
| | | | | { dental. |
| vidhavā | vidua | bivah | wittive | a widow. |
| nava | novus | nu | new | new. |

Our limits do not admit of an extension of this branch of investigation. A comparison of Wilkins's Sanscrit grammar with the Greek and Latin would furnish remarkable instances of analogy in structure as well as words, *e. g.* the distinctions of the feminine and neuter gender are the same in Sanscrit and Latin:

| | | | |
|--------------|----------|--------|----------|
| <i>Sans.</i> | divyah, | divyā | divyam. |
| <i>Lat.</i> | divinus, | divinā | divinum. |

The Sanscrit signs of comparison are essentially the same as in the Latin, Persic, and Gothic.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Sans.</i> | guru, heavy; | gurutar, heavier; | gurutama, heaviest. |
| <i>Lat.</i> | gravis. | gravior. | gravissimus. |
| <i>Pers.</i> | guran. | gurāntar. | guranterin. |
| <i>Germ.</i> | schwer. | schwerer. | schwerste. |

If Varro and the ancient Etymologists be correct in considering the Latin as a derivative of the Greek; or if, as we read, the Pelasgi planted colonies both in the Peloponnesus, and on the coast of Italy, many of the analogies in the Latin will be found to include the Greek terms also.

In Europe, we meet in most of the universities with professorships of Hebrew, Arabic, and the Oriental languages. We know no person so well qualified for such a chair in this country as Dr. Wilson.

It will be found, on investigation, that, as Monboddo remarks, most modern tongues are clearly derived from the Greek and the Latin. Our language abounds with Greek etymology, and is compounded altogether of it and Roman, with a mixture of Danish, Saxon and Norman originals, imparted to it by successive incursions into the dominions of our British ancestors, and amalgamated during the conquests and settlements of the invaders. Britain was long a Roman colony. The victories of Julius Cæsar established the administration of the laws in the Roman tongue, and contributed to imprint upon a nation then barbarous and unrefined, devoid consequently of a nomenclature for articles of luxury and convenience, fresh appellations and new characters, imported with the objects to which they were applied. The Norman conquest produced similar and later effects.

How much farther the origin of our language may be traced, is perhaps involved in too much obscurity to be of interest beyond the indulgence of a liberal curiosity. Cadmus by some is supposed to have been the first who introduced the use of letters

into Greece, while others maintain that the alphabet which he brought from Phœnicia was only different in dialect from that used by the ancient inhabitants of Greece. The Phœnician alphabet consisted only of sixteen letters, to which Palamedes afterwards added four, and Simonides of Melos, the same number. From this Phœnician alphabet, introduced into Greece by Cadmus at least three thousand years ago, and from Greece dispersed over the western part of the then known world, all the alphabets now prevalent in Europe are supposed to be derived. The most satisfactory method of determining the existence of ancient characters, is by reference to antique inscriptions; such as those on the Arundel marbles at Oxford, and the Elgin marbles in the British museum. These, with the manuscripts dug from the ruins of Herculaneum, are standing evidences, preferable to any other tradition of a fabulous age. The Greek inscriptions on the Elgin marbles are at once striking to those versed in Grecian literature, producing an effect upon the mind somewhat analogous to that of the discovery of truth, by a coincidence of conclusions in mathematical science.

To follow the doctor through all the analogies of speech in those languages which are the subjects of his investigation, would probably be deemed more curious than useful by the general reader. Grammar is a subject not to be dismissed in a few pages, nor does it admit of that popular view, in its more recondite parts, which can recommend it to those who will not take the trouble to think profoundly.

On the subject of quantity and accent, there are perhaps no better practical guides than the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, the Greek *Thesaurus*, and *Walker's pronunciation* attached to the words in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, a work now printing in this city. Habit renders the acquisition of the proper accentuation in our language less difficult of course than in the dead languages, yet, corruptions have led to numerous inaccuracies, which no abstract rules can remedy, and are only to be rectified perhaps by referring to a work expressly adapted to the different cases that arise. In Latin, the practice of accustoming youth to the composition of hexameters and pentameters, by the aid of the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and, after some proficiency in these, extending the exercises to the various measures that occur in the Lyric Poets, are perhaps the best methods that can be devised for the correction of inaccurate readings in the classics, which so commonly occur in schools.*

Whilst on this subject, it may not be irrelevant to notice the systems of grammar used in our colleges and academies, because few ever enjoy the opportunity of carrying their researches be-

* Many other advantages, beside this, a most important one, belong to a facility in composing Latin verse. It brings youth more narrowly to watch the beauties, and imitate the perfections of the great Archetypes, and improves the sensibility of the ear to rhythm. The powers of imagination are educed in original flights of a muse otherwise dormant.

yond the pale of a teacher's recommendation, and, being often restricted to these, it is of importance that they should be as explicit and intelligible as possible. The Port Royal Grammar is perhaps the most satisfactory to the learned, but it is too prolix to place in the hands of the student. The Eton Greek and Latin grammars are unquestionably the best that have appeared, level to the capacity of the beginner, and found, by extensive experience, to meet the wishes of the instructor more completely than any others. Ross's Grammars, which have been introduced here, are defective, inasmuch as they do not carry out the conjugations of the verbs, leaving the young, for whom such systems of grammar are expressly intended, without sufficient guide to help them through the various terminations; the article too, instead of being placed first, as in the Eton, and accompanying the declensions of the nouns, as it ought to do, (for the sake of familiarity,) is postponed till the subject of nouns is dismissed.

Though Dr. Wilson's comparisons are drawn principally from the grammars of the Greek and the Latin, yet his conclusions point to a syllabus of English grammar, appended to his work, in which he has adopted chiefly the most correct views of his predecessors. Murray and Lowth will no doubt still continue to be used in schools, it is as a philosophical inquiry, that this "Essay on Grammar" has its merit. The definition given of a verb, is perhaps too metaphysical when it expresses that,

'Whilst it implies time, it predicates, connects an attribute, or expresses an action or inclination.'

The desire of novelty should never tempt an author to disturb a settled acceptation, unless thoroughly persuaded that he can introduce amendment. How much better is that simple passage in our common grammars, founded on Lowth;

'A verb expresses the being, doing, or suffering of a person, or thing.'

Here there is no compound idea of time, (altogether extraneous) till we arrive at the analysis of the tenses, and none of that laboured Aristotelian involution with which the schoolmen seemed to have aimed to beset philosophy, till, happily, the labours of Reid, Stewart and their followers, rescued us from their perplexities. Were we to descend to particulars, we might give instances of the necessity of an attentive study of the philosophy of the human mind, as connected with the operations of speech, to all those who discuss subjects of grammar, but we must hasten to another branch of inquiry. To such as are desirous of pursuing philological investigation methodically so as to gain a more complete insight into the origin and nature of speech, with its various ramifications, we would recommend Dr. Gillies's Analysis of Aristotle, Adam Smith's Inquiry into the Origin and Progress of Language, prefixed to his Theory of Moral Sentiments, Burnet (Lord Monboddo's) Theory of Language, Tooke's *Περί Προέλευσιν* or Diversions of Purley, Kaimes's Sketches of Man, and his Elements of Criticism; Harris's Hermes, Rollin's Belles-Lettres, and Blair's

Lectures on Belles Lettres and Rhetoric. The earlier writers may be consulted with advantage by professed linguists; and Quintilian and Longinus will be read and prized by every classical scholar; but, of many subsequent authors who have treated of this subject, (excepting always those mentioned here and in the former part of this article) it may be observed, that, to consume much time in tracing their devious and mazy labyrinths, would scarcely be prudent in any but those destined to the ministry of the gospel, or devoted to the instruction of youth.

To afford a general illustration of the principles of language, we shall now proceed to consider their application, particularly to our own, which it behoves all sedulously to cultivate, and, as vigilantly to preserve against the encroachments of a barbarous idiom, and the violations of a false grammar.

Words are divided by grammarians into certain classes, called parts of speech, under the following titles, viz. Article, noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, participle, adverb, preposition, interjection, and conjunction. The subdivisions are well laid down by Murray, and, to vary them, would be but to introduce novelty and hazard precision.

Every subject, about which our minds can be employed in thinking, or which can be a subject of our knowledge, must relate to the objects which exist, either in reality, or in the imagination; or to actions, operations, or energies which these produce on themselves, or on one another. Now, the sole end of language being to communicate our knowledge, its divisions of words must correspond with the divisions of our knowledge; the principal business of which is reduced to two heads; first, to exhibit names for all the objects with which we are acquainted, that we may be able to distinguish and recognize them, when mention is made of them by ourselves or others; and secondly, to denote the actions, operations, and energies of these objects. The names are expressed by what grammarians call nouns,* from the French word *nom*, which has its root in the Greek *ονομα*. The operations are denoted by what they term verbs, (Latin *verbum*, French *verbe*.) The other parts of speech explain, modify, extend, restrict, connect or disjoin the noun and the verb. The noun and the verb, then, are the main pillars of discourse, while the other parts of speech are their appendages only.

Before we can communicate our knowledge, we must have names for all the objects about which our knowledge is exercised, and the same names, by common consent, must be imposed on the same objects. The ground-work of all languages is the nouns they contain, and a language is perfect in respect of them, when every substance material or immaterial, about which the people who use the language, have occasion to speak or write, has ob-

* Dr. Wilson is right in discarding the term *substantive*. As applied to objects of the understanding, which form so numerous a class of our ideas, it would seem to imply the doctrine of materialism, or at least the want of precision in language, as being attributable to those employing the term.

tained a name. If their knowledge shall be enlarged, that is, if they shall acquire more ideas of objects than they have names to express, their language will be inadequate to the purposes of ready communication, till they have affixed names to these new objects, and added these to their vocabulary.

From this view of the subject, it appears to be requisite that, every object about which men may speak or write, should have a particular name, by which it may be distinguished from all other objects; and upon this principle, every mineral, every plant, every animal, and every part of every animal, should have a distinct name assigned to it, which would increase the nouns to a number beyond all computation, and would render it impossible for the longest life to become acquainted with them.

Had every object in nature been perfectly different from every other object, language must have assigned a name to every object. But nature has formed very few, if any, of her objects, perfectly different from all other objects. She has reduced her productions into classes; and all the individuals of every class, in many particulars, resemble each other. Thus the word *plant*, expresses the common qualities of all vegetables; *animal*, the common qualities of all living creatures.

These comprehensive terms are called *genera*, and are divided, the former, *plant*, into trees, shrubs, grasses, &c.; the latter, *animal*, into men, horses, cattle, sheep, &c. These subdivisions are called *species*, and are often divided again into inferior species, or they become themselves *genera* to other species. Thus *trees* are divided into oaks, ashes, elms; *men* into white, black, &c.

Language takes advantage of this arrangement of nature, in order to abridge the number of its nouns, and give names only to classes of objects, making one name denote a whole class. Thus, *trees* expresses a whole *genus* of plants; oak, ash, elm, each a whole species. Man is denominated by separate names assigned to individuals, and occasionally, though rarely other animals. This necessity extends to countries and cities. Thus Italy, Rome, Alexander, Bucephalus, are all individuals, whom, the stations they held, or parts they performed in society, and the frequency of the occasions on which it was requisite to mention them, compelled language to distinguish by special names, to obviate ambiguous and disagreeable circumlocutions or descriptions, in order to make them known. From this it follows that a grammatical division of nouns into *common* and *proper*, was absolutely necessary. The *common* nouns are the names of classes of individuals; the *proper* nouns are all names of individuals. The noun *man*, for example, does not denote some man particularly specified, but any individual of a body. *Cesar*, on the other hand, is the name of a particular man; and is restricted to signify him alone.

The distinctions of number, in most languages, are signified by some change in the terminations of the nouns, according as it is required to express one, of the singular number, or many, of the plural number; and when any particular number of individuals,

as ten, twenty, or thirty is to be expressed, they add to the plural the word significant of that number. The Greek language contains a particular form of a plural, called a *dual*, which is employed when two individuals of a species are denoted, a peculiarity that evinces rather the richness of the language of Greece, than any necessity for the purposes of communication, for it does not show cause for the adoption of a dual, more than of a triple, a quadruple, or any other plural number.

Beside their capacity of denoting difference of number, nouns are susceptible of other modifications. Something may belong to them, or be a part of them, may support them, or be taken from them, may go along with them, be contained in them, or be got through them. A provision for expressing these was necessary in the construction of language, and hence arose the varied terminations termed cases. Sometimes, instead of these, modern languages employ a preposition prefixed, as an auxiliary. The Greeks employed five terminations or cases in their singular, two in their dual, and four in their plural number. The Romans employed sometimes six, but generally five, in their singular number, and four in their plural. In the Italian, French, and Spanish languages, no cases appear; in the English, grammarians have agreed upon a *nominative*, expressive of an object simply considered, *possessive*, signifying possession or belonging to, and *objective* when the noun is the object of a verb, thus:

Nom. Book, answering to the nominative case in Latin.

Pos. Book's,—to the genitive case in Latin.

Obj. Book,—to the accusative case in Latin.

This is more particularly striking in the pronoun, whosoever;

Nom. Whosoever.

Pos. Whosesoever.

Obj. Whomsoever.

Variety of gender is another peculiarity belonging to nouns. The genders of nature are two, the male and the female; but all languages, almost, have instituted another, termed, the neuter gender, signifying neither of these, or an object without specific attribute of male or female. Difference of sex is discernible only in animals, and though it has been extended to plants, yet this is so little apparent that no language whatever has yet adopted it. In the languages of Greece and Rome three genders are used, and almost all their adjectives are formed with their terminations corresponding to these genders. In the languages of Italy, France, and Spain, two genders only have been admitted; all their neuter nouns have been made either masculine or feminine, and two genders have been allotted to their adjectives, suited to the classification of their nouns. The English language possesses the merit of being an exact copy of nature in respect of gender, and has no inflections of the adjectives, which unquestionably tends to promote simplicity in language. Some few nouns are distinguished in their genders by their terminations, as prince, princess, lion, lioness, hero, heroine; administrator, administratrix, &c. But the chief use of

gender in English is in the pronoun of the third person, which must agree in that respect with the noun for which it stands.

Articles, and adjectives, are employed to restrict and explain nouns. Articles are little words prefixed to nouns, or to other parts of speech used as nouns, to enlarge or circumscribe their meaning.

The article *a* is called *indefinite*, because it does not specify the object particularly, but refers it to its species only. The article *the* is called *definite*, because it specifies, and discriminates the object to which it is prefixed from all others of the same species. In respect of articles, our own is perhaps the most perfect language in the world. The Greek, the French, the Italian, and the Spanish, possess only the definite article. The Greeks supplied the place of the indefinite article by the absence of the definite; the Italians, the Spaniards, and the French, by the adjective *one*. The Romans neither had articles, nor supplied the place of them by any expedient. To this is to be attributed the hesitation and suspense to which the reader is sometimes liable, in perusing their splendid, but occasionally equivocal language. A few examples will illustrate these remarks. The following phrase, *amicus imperatoris*, admits no fewer than four different interpretations. It may denote either a friend of a commander, a friend of the commander, the friend of the commander, or the friend of a commander. The Latin reader must collect from the context which of these interpretations it is proper to prefer. He can receive no assistance from the words themselves. The Greek language would distinguish the first sense by the words φίλος ἡγεμονος, the second, φίλος τοῦ ἡγεμονος, the third, by ὁ φίλος τοῦ ἡγεμονος, and the last, by ὁ φίλος ἡγεμονος. The French would express the first meaning by, *un Ami d'un chef*, the second by, *un Ami du chef*, the third by, *l'ami du chef*, and the last, by *l'ami d'un chef*. Again, the phrase *præbe mihi panem* may be translated either, give me bread, that is, bread in opposition to sugar or wine, or, give me the bread, which is used at the table. The Greek language can distinguish these meanings, and, to convey the former, would employ the words δός μοι ἄρτον, but to convey the latter, the words δός μοι τον ἄρτον. The French would express the former by, *donnez moi du pain*, the latter by *donnez moi le pain*. Between adjectives (*adjectus* Lat.) and participles (*particeps* Lat.) there are only these differences, that the latter have their roots in verbs, the nature of which they participate and denote the additional idea of time; accordingly participles are divided into participles present and past, as expressive of the present or past time; both serve to exhibit the qualities and attributes, and to define or illustrate the meaning of nouns. Thus the qualities of men are white, black, young, old, good, bad, &c. which qualities express attributes, tending to describe or distinguish the object of which we speak, to characterize it, and to discriminate it from all others of its species. All adjectives that denote qualities susceptible of augmentation or diminution, and almost all qualities are so, are suscep-

tible of comparison. Grammarians have fixed upon three degrees of comparison; the *positive*, being the simple state of an adjective, without augmentation or diminution, the *comparative*, by which is signified, that, of two qualities compared, one is greater than the other; and the *superlative*, implying that of any larger number of qualities than two compared, one is the greatest among them. These stages have been found sufficient for all the purposes of social communication; and, if more minuteness were sometimes necessary, such as twice, thrice, a hundred times, greater, it was thought preferable to notify them by concomitant words, rather than to encumber language by adopting more stages of comparison than were commonly requisite. The ancient languages express these degrees of comparison chiefly by adding terminations to the adjectives themselves. The modern languages incline more to signify them by auxiliary words.

Pronouns, as their name implies, stand for nouns, being so used in order to prevent too frequent and disagreeable repetitions; a tautology harsh and disgusting. Hence they are a source of very great convenience and variety in language, without which, the verbs of all languages would have much less variety of termination than they possess. Suppose the contents of the following sentence were to be expressed without the use of pronouns "Cæsar loved Cæsar's *his* country, Cæsar's *his* family, and Cæsar's *his* friends; but his ruling passion was ambition, and Cæsar *he* sacrificed to ambition, all Cæsar's *his* attachments, and all Cæsar's *his* duties:" the repetition of nouns would have been intolerable; and suppose again, Cæsar, in addressing the senate, to have had to couch a letter in the following terms.

"Cæsar *I* consents *consent* to disband Cæsar's *my* army, provided the senate will order Cæsar's *my* enemy, Pompey, to dismiss Pompey's *his* army. Cæsar *I* cannot come to Rome in safety, without Cæsar's *my* army, while Pompey *he* retains Pompey's *his* army near the city.

It follows, that verbs would in such cases, have been restricted to the third part of the variety of terminations they now possess. They could have retained only the terminations peculiar to the third persons of the singular and plural numbers. Because then the noun requiring the third person of the verb to follow it, and the noun being always repeated without any substitution of the pronoun, the first and second persons would have been altogether unnecessary, and of course, must have been banished from the number of their inflexions.

The pronoun *I* is said to be of the first person, because the speaker or the writer employs it to denote himself, and to prevent the disagreeable repetition of his name. Thou, or you, is called the pronoun of the second person; because the speaker or the writer employs it to denote the person or thing addressed, for a like reason. He, she, it, are called pronouns of the third person; because they denote some third person or thing which has been formerly mentioned, but is not addressed. As the speakers, the persons

spoken to, and the other persons spoken of, may be many, so each of these persons has a plural number; we, ye, they. For the persons, numbers, cases and genders of personal pronouns, together with the pronominal adjectives and their inflections, we must refer to Lowth's Grammar, which contains, as far as we know, the most succinct account of them, disencumbered of intricate distinctions.

Having now finished the discussion of nouns and their dependents, articles, adjectives, participles, and pronouns, which denote the first great branch of our knowledge, the names and the nature of the objects that exist in matter or in the mind, we shall take a summary view of the verb and its dependant adverb, which denote the second great branch of our knowledge, the actions and energies, with their modifications of those objects, which they exert in respect of themselves or of one another.

The radical characteristic of the verb is action or energy. I read, think, walk, &c. are all expressions declaratory of some operation or exertion in that which is the nominative to the verb. Hence Lowth's simple, but appropriate definition, "to be, to do, or to suffer."

In analyzing the forms that verbs assume in expressing various energies, we find a division adopted by grammarians, into moods, or more properly modes (*modus*, Lat.) and tenses (*tensio*, Lat.) The indicative mode denotes the actual performance of the action, as *I write*. The subjunctive* expresses the power, inclination, or obligation of the agent to perform it, as *I may or can write*. The imperative exhibits the agent as entreating or commanding the performance of the action, as *write you*. The infinitive represents the action in general, without connexion with, or reference to, any agent, or any powers or dispositions depending upon him, as *to write*.

All time is divided into past, present, and future. Hence the formation of tenses, to express each of these, with their subdivisions. A new and ingenious method for arranging them in the minds of youth, has been devised by a Mr. J. Grout, of this city, on a scale expressive of the several distinctions. The mechanical use of the *τοπικὴ τέχνη* or *loci* of the ancients might here be advantageously introduced, by teaching youth, after uttering *the present*, to turn back and *take a retrospective view of the past*, after which, *to look forward to the future*, marking in each the stages of time by the tenses.

* This is sometimes called, in English grammar, *the conditional*; because it leaves the performance to be decided by circumstances not yet come into existence. It is of importance that philologists should agree in affixing a unity and precision to their terms, and desirable that the analogies of Greek and Latin be preserved, as far as the relative tongues admit.

Dr. Wilson appears not to have observed the form of the subjunctive mode alike in similar cases, where the conjunction *if* denotes its use.

P. 26 Syllabus of grammar. 'But if the verb *have* a subject.'

P. 119 Essay. 'If the verb *denotes* neither action nor suffering, it has received the appellation of neuter.'

This last sentence is, besides, incorrect syntax, as it renders a past tense the consecutive of a conditional action.

The very fleeting nature of present time made any subdivision of it both difficult and unnecessary; and for this reason, all polished languages, according to the general opinion of grammarians, have in any mode one tense only appropriated to express it. - A similar opinion seems to have guided the construction of language for expressing future time. That future time, including a long duration, is divisible into parts, must have been perceived; but the total ignorance in which mankind are involved concerning actions that may take place in that period, must have divested them of all disposition to mark differences of future time, or to provide language with terms for that purpose. When we express a determination to perform any action, to specify the day is sufficient, as "the examination will be held on Friday." The Greeks, indeed, sometimes, though very rarely, used a *paulo post futurum*. But the past time is that which the framers of all languages have been chiefly anxious to subdivide. Most of the actions which could be the subject of discourse or writing, must have taken place in past time, and to render the accounts of them more conspicuous and intelligible, it must often have been requisite to specify the progress, or the stages, of their execution. Hence the various divisions of past time, and the different tenses* significant of them, with which all languages, even the most imperfect, abound.

To establish one uniform system of modes and tenses, adapted to the analogies of different tongues, is among the desiderata of general grammar. All we can do here is to point it out, leaving the suggestion to be improved upon by those who prefer a practical utility in their pursuit to abstract discussions, however flattering to their learning and research.

All polished languages employ auxiliaries. Even the highly copious and varied language of Greece is not exempted from this expedient, but is obliged to introduce them to complete the modes of the perfect tense of the passive form. The Roman language is still more defective in the same form, and is necessitated to supply, by the aid of them, the perfect and pluperfect tenses, of both the indicative and subjunctive modes, beside several other parts of the verb. Several of the modern languages, and our own in particular, are so profuse in the use of auxiliaries, as to supersede, in a great degree, all inflexion, and to commit to them the communication of almost all the varieties of tenses and moods. If a language were complete in all its parts, there would be no need of auxiliaries, the only use of them being, as their name imports, to supply defects in the original structure of the verb, which, it seems, the most ingenious framers of inflexions have not been able to prevent.— The different terminations of the Greek verb amount to more than five hundred, those of the Latin verb, at least, to a hundred and forty; while all the variations of the English verb scarcely exceed

* Beside their tenses, the Greeks employed the *Aorist*, which denotes only that the action is completed, without distinguishing in what division of past time the completion took place, or whether the execution was pluperfect, perfect, or imperfect.

half a dozen. Yet the last is sufficient to denote, by the aid of two convenient little auxiliaries *to be*, and *to have*, (and sometimes, though not so principally, *do*, *let*, *may*, *can*, *shall*, *will*,) every conception communicated by the numerous terminations of the two first.

As the business of the article, the adjective, and the participle, is to limit and qualify the noun; so the chief use of the adverb is to restrict and modify the verb. The circumstances of an action, expressed by tenses and modes, are all of a nature too general to be sufficient for the purposes of communication. It is often necessary to be much more particular in ascertaining both the time and the manner, but particularly the place of the action, and the important office of adverbs is to accomplish these ends. Tenses, notwithstanding the great ingenuity displayed in their formation, scarcely descend farther than to denote performance in past, present, or future time. But, it is often requisite to be much more minute, and to signify whether the action was done yesterday, lately, long ago: or is to be done now, immediately, instantly; or will be done quickly, presently, hereafter; or will be repeated often, seldom, daily, &c. The circumstances, also, communicated by modes, are all of a very general nature. The very varied and numerous situations of society, required the signification of many circumstances of action much more particular; and a large class of adverbs was devised to express them. These adverbs denote quality and manner, either simply, as *wisely*, *prudently*, *cautiously*; or positively, as *truly*, *certainly*, *unquestionably*; or contingently, as *perhaps*, *probably*, *possibly*; or negatively, as *no*, *not*, *erroneously*; or conjointly, as *together*, *generally*, *universally*; or separately, as *apart*, *solely*, *solitarily*. Sometimes they denote magnitude, as *wholly*, *altogether*, *exceedingly*; or passion, as *angrily*, *lovingly*, *furiously*, *valiantly*; or merit, as *learnedly*, *prudently*, *industriously*. Another copious class of adverbs is appropriated to impart the circumstances of an action relative to place. The chief views they exhibit are, whether the action is performed in a place, or in moving to it, through it, or from it. Of the first sort are *here*, *there*, *where*, *within*, *without*; of the second, *hither*, *thither*, and the compounds of the syllable *ward*, as *toward*, *forward*, *backward*, *upward*, *downward*; of the third, *nowhere*, *elsewhere*, *everywhere*; of the fourth sort, *hence*, *whence*, *thence*. Of the adverbs signifying time and manner, two often, one from each class, attend on the same verb, by an analogy similar to the appearance of every verb, both in a tense and a mode, on the same occasion. The adverb significant of time generally precedes, while the adverb significant of manner follows the verb. "Cæsar often fought bravely." "Brutus frequently reprehended Cassius severely for his avarice; while Cassius sometimes blamed Brutus justly for unseasonable lenity." In both these examples, the preceding adverb circumscribes the time expressed by the tense, and the succeeding adverb circumscribes the manner expressed by the mode. Adverbs are susceptible of comparison, sometimes regular, as *soon*, *sooner*,

soonest; but oftener irregular, as *readily, more readily, most readily*. One adverb is frequently employed to qualify another; *too confidently, very seldom*. Adverbs, finally, are often applied to circumscribe adjectives, *unmercifully severe, highly criminal, superlatively excellent*.

Prepositions are words prefixed to others, to denote various relations. "He came from Rome to Paris, in the company of many eminent men, and passed with them through many cities." They are almost all monosyllables in English, and are chiefly employed to supply the deficiency of the inflexions commonly called *cases*. On many occasions they lend their aid to furnish out compound-ed verbs; *outwit, foretell, over-rate, undervalue*: in all cases, they act as proportional ingredients of the composition, and add to it the full import of their powers.

The use of conjunctions is to connect single nouns, clauses of sentences, or members of periods. "You, and I, and he, lived together in great friendship." "Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus." "Men endowed with wisdom, and improved by experience, are the best guides in business." "Augustus, though the youngest, was the best politician of the three, and he retained by prudence, what he had gained by usurpation." Grammarians divide conjunctions into various classes—copulative, disjunctive, and adversative. The most useful distinction of them relates to those which correspond to one another in different clauses, or members of a period; and in the right management of which, both the perspicuity and propriety of language appear to be not a little concerned. *Although*, at the head of one clause or member, requires its correspondent *yet*, to introduce the other; *whether*, demands *or*; *either, or; neither, nor; such, that; as, so*. "Though he were rich, yet for our sake he became poor." "Whether we expect confidence, or demand obedience; we must either trust to merit, or have recourse to authority." "Neither the dignity of the judge, nor the fear of punishment, could restrain guilt." "Such is the confidence of folly, that it will not listen to the dictates of wisdom." "As the tree falleth, so let it lie."

Interjections are the least numerous of all the classes of words into which language is divided. They are intended to denote those impressions which affect so suddenly and violently the mind of the speaker or writer, that they are thrown in (*inter* and *jactus*) amid the regular train of his thoughts, because they demand immediate utterance. This description of their nature demonstrates that the proper use of them must be very limited; for the incidents which excite such vehement agitation are not very common. Even in the warm and animated languages of antiquity, interjections rarely occur. In the more tame and phlegmatic tongues of modern times they appear still seldomer with grace. In the latter, accordingly, there are few interjections, except those which interrupt, not language, but silence; which occur at the seasons of high passion, when the sentiments of the speaker are too violent for communication by words, and with difficulty admit utterance, at intervals, by sighs or by groans.

From this brief sketch of the structure of language, it will be seen that an investigation of the principles of grammar, though perhaps abstract and refined, is yet intimately connected with successful composition. To fill up the outline, is presupposed an acquaintance with its four constituent materials, viz. orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody. The knowledge of these forms the ground-work of all good speaking and writing; and to their rules we must recur for government in judging of the performances of ourselves or others. Language is a most important engine of the mind, and shall we not apply ourselves to learn its nature, its machinery, and its powers?

The study of this art has been too much neglected; which undoubtedly is the chief cause of the solecism and impropriety often to be found in polite conversation itself, and of the inaccurate and slovenly sentiment and expression which frequently disfigure the works of great authors. It is impossible to write any language with propriety and elegance, without studying it grammatically. Polished intercourse, and reading of the most approved models, may improve and refine both taste and style; but they are inadequate to form a correct and pure composer. To write well in any language, it seems to be absolutely necessary, in the first place, to be well acquainted with its principles and its structure; in the second, to study with care the works of those who write it with most propriety; in the third, to acquire, by practice, the habit of composition. The first of these three expedients is the foundation of the other two. Without a competent knowledge of the structure of language, we can neither perceive nor relish the refined merits of the compositions of others, nor realize these merits in compositions of our own. Indeed, no one of these expedients will succeed without the aid of the rest: combined, however, they contribute to form whatever is elegant, chaste, and unexceptionable in mental effort.

Whilst the scholar will recognize the necessity of an attentive study of the grammars of the ancient tongues, he will see the propriety of a thorough knowledge of his own, abounding, as we have seen it does, with peculiarities and variations requiring a separate and distinct investigation; and doubly important is this knowledge to those so situated as not to know the analogies of classical instruction. A mind unacquainted with the principles of English grammar, has much to fear from inaccuracy. Such ignorance would be unpardonable in a school-boy, and betrays an insensibility to the merits of our native tongue, which, it may be truly said, is the vehicle of more sound wisdom, more genuine philosophy, and more pure religion, than any other.

ART. II.—*Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*.—Vol. 1. part 1.—Printed for the Society, and sold by Thomas Dobson and Caleb Richardson of Philadelphia, 1817. 8vo. 218 pages.

IN the infancy of society, as in the infancy of the species, Fancy is more alive than Reason; and those effusions of intellect that

are addressed to the passions, form the earliest branch of literature, and are best calculated for people susceptible of feeling, but unused to patient and laborious investigation. The war songs of the bards, are the first compositions that history gives us an account of, among rude and savage nations. Whether they be the savages of ancient Greece, whose exploits are the subject of Homer's ballads, or the Runic poetry of the northern nations, the war songs of their bards and scalds, or the half genuine forgeries of Macpherson under the name of Ossian, or the Celtic songs of the early days of Erin and Caledonia. Poetry and description, uniformly constitutes the literary amusement of rude and ignorant people in the first stages of society; and poetry and description of more polished fabrication, still continues, and will long continue to form the literary amusement of the multitude in every stage of society; of those, who are every where too listless and too ignorant to appreciate the severer studies by which real knowledge is patiently accumulated and disciplined, and the actual condition of human life substantially improved. The laborious investigations of ethics and jurisprudence (not however as exemplified in the chicanery of legal practice, but) in the great principles of legislation that embrace the groundwork of politics, of political economy, and of municipal regulation, few can patiently peruse; and the rhyme-loving populace know little, and care less, about the men who are thus labouring to ameliorate the condition of their species. The time-consuming, wealth-consuming, health-consuming pursuits of the experimental philosopher, conduce but little to his general reputation, and with the mass of society, (whose intercourse no man is able to renounce) serve often but to expose him to pity or derision; while the effeminate prettinesses of Moore, or the misanthropic immoralities of Byron, lead equally to reputation and to fortune.

It is not pretended, that poetry, such as we find it among poets of established reputation, is not an allowable amusement, and an elegant relaxation. But as it was in the beginning of society, it now is, and ever will be, that a general prevailing fondness for the science of words, and not of things—for poetry and oratory—for splendid, diffuse, and ornamented diction, whether in verse or in prose, in writing or in speaking, is the sure sign of a comparatively ignorant and uninformed state of society. These constitute the trincallerie, the gaudy, youthful and useless ornaments of literary apparel: ornaments, that as people become wiser, and grow older, are thrown aside as fit only for the giddy, unreflecting, and trifling taste of early years.

If these remarks be just, the propensity that so long prevailed in this country among all classes of people, for novels and poetry as books of study—and orations and declamations as means of instruction, and vehicles of information—amounted to irrefragable proofs of literary inferiority. It was a national taste that conferred no national credit; and operated most injuriously even in our national concerns. It tended to place all merit in rounded periods and elegant declamation, as constituting the highest and most desirable

qualification in authors who dictate to the press, and in orators who address from the forum. Our miscellanies abounded in laboured efforts at wit—our biographies furnished specimens of a gaudy, meretricious style, utterly incompatible with that chaste and perspicuous simplicity, in which true taste consists. Every new public event produced a crop of orators whose aim was to shine—to present to their audience, ornamented declamation, or poetic prose, wherein solid information and profound reflection were the last requisites sought for: eulogies, which like most of the French *eloges* were *vox et præterea nihil*, forgotten as soon as heard. In conformity with this taste, the first quality of a legislator was to talk long and fluently; and nothing was more common than to elevate a favourite orator of the populace to the station of a legislator, for his dexterous and declamatory flattery of the prejudices of his hearers. It was this false taste produced in the boyish years of our national literature, that tempted our legislators to amplify in their speeches, when it was their duty to condense; and debate for days together, questions so frivolous, that men of plain understanding would have discussed and dismissed them, in as many minutes as they occupied hours; while the warfare of words in our counsels, became almost as expensive as the warfare of arms in the field of battle. All this was the effect of a juvenile state of society, wherein works of fiction, and the deliriums of fancy, are cherished, until talents chastened by experience, exert themselves in the sober, narrow paths of solid investigation. This taste is fast declining: its day is nearly gone by: tinsel and glitter fail to dazzle: and we are now beginning to take the stand that becomes our national character, and to pursue with slow but patient perseverance the paths that lead to real knowledge. The present publication, is among the proofs of this remark.

The state of things we complain of, long took place in Europe; and it is of late years only, that in England, France, and Germany, the pursuits of science which, in their effects, so strongly tend to ameliorate the condition of the human race, have been gradually rising in public estimation, and now bid fair to claim their due pre-eminence in general society. In the best company of Europe, the writers of plays, poems, ballads, and vaudevilles—trifles, which for the most part, are better calculated to enervate and debauch, than to improve the mind—are no longer the great objects of admiration and conversation. Improvements in science and the arts—and new views of the operations of nature, are among the topics that are no longer considered as out of harmony with the polished society, even though females constitute, as they ought to do, the most engaging part of it. No woman of polite education in France or England, would consider it as an intrusion in conversation, to talk of Buffon, Lavoisier, or Cuvier, in the one country—or of Priestley, Hutton, or Davy, in the other: nor is there a society of well-bred people in the kingdom of Great Britain, where sir Joseph Banks, though not famed for science itself, but the great promoter and purveyor of science in that country, would not be

received with more respect and attention, than any man of mere belles-lettres reputation in it.

We hail the present volume, as the dawn of a brilliant day for science in this country: as an evidence, that our countrymen have strength of mind enough to embrace in our national literature the knowledge of things as well as of words; and that in the metropolis of America, as Philadelphia may fairly be considered, an attempt is made to ascertain, whether public encouragement cannot be afforded to the cultivation of natural science.

As the society from which the volume now under consideration emanates, is comparatively little known in our county as yet—and as our object is to make it more known, as it deserves to be—we shall present to our readers, the brief and modest preface that introduces the volume.

‘The members of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, desirous of acquiring knowledge themselves, and extending it among their fellow citizens, have for some years been accustomed to meet at leisure hours for the purpose of communicating to each other such facts and observations, as are calculated to promote the views of the society. By degrees, a collection of subjects in natural history was made, and has increased until a museum has been formed, which is already very valuable, and which is daily increasing.

‘In further pursuance of the objects of their institution, the Society have now determined to communicate to the public, such facts and observations as, having appeared interesting to them, are likely to be interesting to other friends of natural science. They do not profess to make any periodical communication; but well knowing how desirable it is, that persons engaged in similar pursuits, should be made acquainted as early as possible with what has been done by their fellow-labourers in the fields of science elsewhere, they mean to publish a few pages whenever it appears to them that materials worthy of publication have been put in their possession. In so doing, they propose to exclude entirely all papers of mere theory,—to confine their communications as much as possible to facts—and by abridging papers too long for publication in their original state, to present the facts thus published, clothed in as few words as are consistent with perspicuous description.

‘Well aware that much leisure and superfluous wealth are not always found in company with an ardent love of science, they mean their proposed publication to be as cheap and as unostentatious as the nature of the subjects will admit; so that it need not encroach unnecessarily on the funds of the society, or of those who may wish to purchase it. In short, they are desirous of contributing their share to the mass of knowledge, as early in all cases, and with as little show, and as small expense as possible. The present publication will be a specimen of what they propose in future.

‘They invite the lovers of science generally, and particularly all those who are anxious for its encouragement in the United States, to aid in promoting the objects of this institution, and to encourage the present publication, so long as the contents of it shall prove deserving of public approbation.’

It appears to us, that this unassuming preface, presents a model for works of this description in *this* country. The volume is left to

rest on its own merits. There is nothing to captivate or impose, by means of a dignified quarto, where a rivulet of text, glides through a meadow of margin—here are no splendid engravings, no coloured landscapes—it is an unpretending volume; wherein we may venture to say, that there are more new facts related in fewer words, than can be shown in any other production of the American press. The plates are chiefly etchings and aquatints, wherein the objects are delineated with the most scrupulous accuracy, chiefly under the inspection of one of the best naturalists, and finest delineators of natural history that Europe has ever produced, M. Le Sueur; the scientific associate of Perron in the French expedition of discovery to Australasia and the southern ocean. The plates are in number nine, comprizing upwards of ninety distinct objects. The volume itself contains more new information in natural history, than any volume of its size collected and published in Europe within the same period; and it is with sincere pleasure we record the great attention it has received from men of science in France, England, and Germany: in all which countries, it is now considered as a compliment of value to be a member of this institution; so quickly and so deservedly has its reputation risen abroad! A disgrace indeed it will be to the American public, if they should verify the mournful observation of the Scripture, that “a prophet has honour, save in his own country, and amongst his own household.”

That this society may be better known, and its value appreciated, we shall give the table of contents, and a paper of Mr Say's on the technical character and description of the *Hessian Fly* as a specimen of the work, which we earnestly recommend to public notice, and support, because we sincerely believe it calculated to do honour to the American nation.

‘ Introduction.

‘ Description of six new species of the genus *FIROLA*, observed by Messrs. Le Sueur and Péron in the Mediterranean sea, in the months of March and April, 1809. By C. A. Le Sueur.

‘ Account of a North American Quadruped, supposed to belong to the genus *Ovis*. By G. Ord.

‘ Description of seven species of American Fresh-water and Land Shells, not noticed in the systems. By Thomas Say.

‘ The same, concluded.

‘ Descriptions of several new species of North American insects. By Thomas Say.

‘ Observations on the genus *ERIOGONUM*, and the Natural Order *POLYGONÆ* of Jussieu. By Thomas Nuttall.

‘ Notice of the late Dr. Waterhouse.

‘ Observations on the genus *ERIOGONUM*, &c. concluded.

‘ Characters of a new Genus, and descriptions of three new Species upon which it is formed; discovered in the Atlantic ocean, in the months of March and April, 1816; lat. 22° 9'. By C. A. Le Sueur.

‘ Description of three new species of the genus *RAJA*. By C. A. Le Sueur.

‘ Some account of the Insect known by the name of Hessian Fly, and of a parasitic Insect that feeds on it. By Thomas Say.

' On a new genus of the CRUSTACEA, and the species in which it is established. By Thomas Say.

' An account of an American species of the genus TANTALUS or IBIS. by George Ord.

' An account of the CRUSTACEA of the United States. By Thomas Say.

' An account of the CRUSTACEA of the United States, continued,

' A short description of five (supposed) new species of the genus MURÆNA, discovered by Mr. Le Sueur, in the year 1816. By C. A. Le Sueur.

' Description of two new species of the genus GADUS. By the same.

' Description of a new species of the genus CYPRINUS. By the same.

' An account of an American species of TORTOISE, not noticed in the systems. By the same.

' A new genus of Fishes, of the order Abdominales, proposed under the name CATOSTOMUS, and the characters of this genus, with those of its species, indicated. By the same.

' An account of the CRUSTACEA of the United States, continued.

' CATOSTOMUS, a new genus of Fishes, concluded.

' An account of two new genera of Plants; and of a species of TILLÆA, and another of LIMOSELLA, recently discovered on the banks of the Delaware, in the vicinity of Philadelphia. By Thomas Nuttall.

' Descriptions of new species of Land and Fresh-water Shells of the United States. By Thomas Say.

' Descriptions of four new species, and two varieties, of the genus HYDRARGIRA. By C. A. Le Sueur.

' Observations on the GEOLOGY of the West India Islands, from Barbadoes to Santa Cruz, inclusive. By Wm. Maclure.

' Observations on several species of the genus ACTINIA; illustrated by figures. By C. A. Le Sueur.

' An account of the CRUSTACEA of the United States, continued.

' Observations on several species of the genus ACTINIA, continued.

' Description of COLLINSIA, a new genus of Plants. By T. Nuttall.

' Act of Incorporation.

' Constitution.

' Catalogue of the Library.

' List of Donors to the Library.

' List of Donations to the Museum.

' List of Donations to the Apparatus.'

' Some account of the Insect known by the name of Hessian Fly, and of a parasitic Insect that feeds on it. By Thomas Say.—Read June 24th, 1817.—Order DIPTERA.—Genus CECIDOMYIA.—Genus *Tipula*, of Linne and Degeer. *Chironomus*, of Fabr. *Trichocera*, of Lamarck *Cecidomyia*, of Latr. and Meigen—Antennæ filiform, joints subequal, globular, hairy. Proboscis sallient. Wings incumbent, horizontal.—

' Description.—*C. Destructor*. Head and thorax black; wings black, fulvous at base; feet pale, covered with black hair.

' Inhabits the northern and middle states.

' Body clothed with short black hairs; head black; antennæ shorter than the body, somewhat smaller toward the tip, verticillate, joints moniliform, separated by a hyaline filament. Thorax gibbous, black, glabrous and polished. Scutel, prominent, colour of the thorax, rounded behind. Wings ciliate, rounded at tip, blackish, the fulvous colour of the base is sometimes extended upon the nerves of the wing, paler and

gradually disappearing before the middle; longer than the abdomen. *Feet* long, slender, thighs fulvous at base, furnished at the tip with several very acute claws. *Poisers* pale, nearly as long as the thorax, with a suboval capitulum. *Breast* sometimes fulvous. *Abdomen* brownish.

‘Female. *Antennæ* longer than the thorax, the joints somewhat oval, not separated by filaments. *Abdomen* elongate-oval, above rectilinear, beneath somewhat ventricose, fulvous, with a dorsal and ventral black vitta widely interrupted by the sutures. *Tail* more or less acute in the dead specimen in proportion as the oviduct is exerted. Length rather more than three-twentieths of an inch.

‘Eggs elongated, linear, pale, fulvous.

‘Larva. *Body* somewhat fusiform, whitish; *tail* acute, rather abruptly attenuated; *head* incurved, and attached by the mouth; above hyaline, exhibiting an internal, abbreviated, visceral, green line; beneath with opaque white clouds, which in the young animal are perfectly separate and about nine on each side, with an intermediate series of smaller ones: as the larva advances to its full stature, these unite so as to exhibit the appearance of regular transverse segments; near the anterior extremity are the rudiments of feet resembling obsolete tubercles, or crenulæ; when taken from the culm it is almost inert, exhibiting very little motion to the eye. Length three-twentieths of an inch, breadth one twentieth.

‘Pupa—resembles the mature larva, but is of a dark reddish brown colour; and appears perfectly inert.

‘This well known destroyer of the wheat has received the name of “Hessian fly,” in consequence of an erroneous supposition, that it was imported in some straw with the Hessian troops during the revolutionary war. But the truth is, it is absolutely unknown in Europe, and is a species entirely new to the systems—being now for the first time described. The insect described by Mr. Kirby in the *Trans. Lin. Soc. of Lond.* vol. iv. p. 232, and named by him *Triphala Tritici*, is without doubt of the same genus with this, but specifically distinct.

‘The history of the changes of this insect, is probably briefly this—The eggs are deposited by the female in different numbers from one to eight, and perhaps more, upon a single plant of wheat, and in so doing the parent exhibits another instance of that provident care for the welfare of her offspring, which is so strongly evinced by many of the insect race. The egg is not placed at the axilla of either of the leaves indifferently, but displaying some portion of botanical knowledge, the fly carefully insinuates her elongated oviduct between the vagina of the inner leaf and the culm nearest to the root of the plant, where the larva when excluded from the egg will be in immediate contact with the culm, from which alone its nourishment is derived. In this situation with the body inverted, the head being invariably towards the roots, or if above, towards the first joint, the infant larva passes the winter. The pressure and puncture of the insect in this state of its being, upon the culm, produces a longitudinal groove of sometimes sufficient depth to receive almost one half of the side of its body. When several of them are contiguous on the same plant, the pressure on the body of the larva is unequal, and an inequality in the form of the body is the consequence, as well as the destruction of the plant which is neglected to their attack. The perfect fly appears early in June, lives but a short time, deposits its eggs and dies; the insects from these eggs complete the history by preparing for the winter brood.

' *Order* HYMENOPTERA.—*Genus* CERAPHRON. *Latr.*—Antennæ inflected, moniliform, ten or twelve jointed, basal joint long, cylindrical. Abdomen subovate. Inferior wings without apparent nerves. Superior wings with a costal nerve, and a single branch, forming an incomplete radial cellule.

' *Species.*—*C. Destructor.* Black, granulated; abdomen glabrous, polished; feet, and base of the antennæ, whitish.

' *In the Larva of Cecidomyia destructor.*

' *Head* black, opaque, sometimes brassy, granulated over its entire surface; *eyes* not prominent, rounded in compliance with the curve of the head, and with the stemmata, red-brown, *antennæ* pale brown, furnished with short cinereous hairs, the two basal joints pale yellowish; the terminal ones in the male, a little dilated and approximated so as to form an obvious ovate, acute mass. *Thorax* with the granulæ equal to those of the head; black, usually brassy before the line of the base of the wings; nerve of the wings pale brownish; *feet* whitish with black apophysis. *Abdomen* ovate-acute, perfectly black, highly polished and furnished with a few short hairs; the segments of the base are sometimes pale yellowish or testaceous.

' Length one-tenth of an inch.

' This is often mistaken for the Hessian fly, in consequence of being found in wheat fields in vast numbers during the devastation committed there by that insect, and many have been deceived by the specious circumstance of its evolution from the pupa itself of the destroying larva, under their own observation. But the truth is the Ceraphron belongs to that vast tribe of insects included by Linne under the Genus Ichneumon. True to the manners of its kind the parent deposits her eggs within the bodies of the larvæ of the Cecidomyia destructor, through a puncture made by her acute oviduct for the purpose; the young when disclosed from the egg, feeding securely within the body of the larva, at length kills it, but not in general until after its change into the pupa state. Protected by this indurated covering, the parasite undergoes its change, and appears in the perfect state, about the latter part of June. It seems probable that the insect prevents the total loss of our wheat crops, by restraining the increase of the Cecidomyia, within certain bounds. The *Ichneumon Tipulæ* of Mr. Kirby is congeneric with this, but is doubtless specifically distinct.'

ART. III.—*Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China, comprising a correct narrative of the Embassy, of the Voyage to and from China, and of the Journey from the mouth of the Pei-ho to the return to Canton. Interspersed with Observations upon the face of the country, the polity, moral character, and manners, of the Chinese nation. By Henry Ellis, third commissioner of the embassy. Philadelphia, 1818.*

OUR readers, no doubt, recollect, that in consequence of the seizure of American vessels, by British cruisers, during the late war, within the Chinese dominions, a serious misunderstanding took place between the Viceroy of Canton, and the English residing at that place. So highly, indeed, were the Chinese authorities offended, that the Chinese linguist, at Canton, was bamboozed, the Chinese of every denomination forbidden to serve in the English factory, and a nonintercourse between the factory and

the natives was, in fact, produced. Matters appeared to be approaching to a serious crisis; when, in consequence of the application of the board of directors to the ministry, lord Amherst was appointed, in July 1815, to be ambassador extraordinary to the court of Peking, and Mr. Ellis, the author of the work before us, was named as secretary to the embassy. The object of the mission, as we collect from the work, appears to have been, to adjust existing differences, and to obtain greater security for the British trade in future.

Mr. Ellis's object appears to have been to write a book, knowing that, as Science and Literature are ever on the look out for accession, and that difficulties increase the ardent curiosity of their followers, the reading part of the community might possibly buy it. Researches have been heretofore pushed into almost every corner of the world, and each succeeding account has rather heightened, than allayed public curiosity. Towards China, from various causes, the attention of those calling themselves civilized nations, has been for a series of years directed, and endeavours have been made to satisfy the craving demand for information on the subject of that nation. In particular, several persons connected with the embassy of lord Macartney, in 1793, gave on their return to England, the result of their observations on the Chinese to the public; we allude to the works of sir George Staunton and Mr. Barrow, productions which excited considerable interest at the moment, and left curiosity so far unsatisfied, as to secure to future accounts the most decided interest. Feeling ourselves considerable excitement on the subject, we welcomed Mr. Ellis's work as an addition to the scanty information within our reach, and anticipated a feast, for which, as literary *gourmands*, we had every inclination. Unfortunately we gave too much credit to the title-page, for our own satisfaction; and, if we at first, on comparing the size of the work with the pompous enumeration of the subjects on which the author professes to have made observations, felt inclined to charge him with presumption, our opinion certainly has not been changed by a very attentive perusal of his journal. And we feel inclined to protest almost as strongly as we would against a fraud, with regard to the unfairness, in a literary point of view, of holding out the idea of having made observations on the "polity, moral character, and manners" of a nation, when the author must have been conscious that he possessed neither the means nor the opportunity of so doing. This unfairness can only be fully estimated by those, who like ourselves, have waded through a dull, and scrupulously exact detail of occurrences, likely to take place every day in the year, on the imperial canal, with the hope of meeting with some new idea, or some new view at the next page, which never appeared to console us for our trouble. Let us, however, do the author the justice to say, that he apprized us of what was likely to take place, and that we have only ourselves to reproach, for having been willing to attribute his humble opinion of himself to *native modesty*.

‘ To those who, like myself, have passed years of their lives in absence from their native country, and have visited some of the principal courts of Asia, the mere difference of manners, customs, and court pageantry, from the European world, will be less striking; and perhaps the same comparative indifference will extend itself to the political conduct and moral habits of the nations. I shall be less surprised with the exhibitions of squalid poverty among the great body of the people, and with the arrogance and at the same time meanness of the higher orders. Nor will it excite my indignation or astonishment to find that the civilization of the west is in the east either disbelieved or despised; or to observe a nation, satisfied with the hereditary mediocrity of ages, resisting the introduction of foreign, but superior knowledge.

‘ Had I the capacity, I much doubt the possibility of collecting any new information respecting China or its inhabitants. The more modern works of our countrymen Sir George Staunton and Mr. Barrow, of De Guignes and Vanbraam, have satisfied curiosity up to the date of the respective embassies to which they belonged, and as centuries have produced less changes in China than a generation in Europe variety is not now to be expected; in fact, at an earlier period the labours of the missionaries had almost exhausted in detail every possible subject of popular inquiry: the satisfaction however remains of seeing that of which we have read or heard; but such satisfaction will be proportionate to the interest of the subject, and on this I must confess that China has always appeared to me eminently deficient.

‘ China, vast in its extent, produce, and population, wants energy and variety; the chill of uniformity pervades and deadens the whole: for my own part, I had rather again undergo fatigue and privations among the Bedouins of Arabia, or the Eeliats of Persia, than sail along, as we may expect, in unchanging comfort on the placid waters of the imperial canal.

‘ But whether the view just taken be just or otherwise, ignorance of the language, and the state of surveillance under which we shall probably travel, will be complete bars to enjoyment and research; the highest satisfaction will consist in returning to England, and being able to say, with Mr. Barrow, “*Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.*”

Thus, it would appear, that the author was as well qualified to judge of the *Chinese nation*, as a Chinese who did not speak a word of English, and who openly professed to despise the country and inhabitants, would be to judge of the “polity, moral character, and manners” of the United States, from having been *polled* up the Susquehannah from Harrisburg to some inland village, and back again. Let us see how he judges after such an acknowledgment, as we have just quoted.

‘ The Chinese are so illiberal in their principles of action, and so unblushingly false in their assertions, that the soundest arguments are thrown away upon them. Denying both your general principles and your facts *ad libitum*, the Chinese defies all attempt at refutation; yet, though aware that duplicity and deceit are with him habitual and invariable, he has no hesitation in assuming the language of offended integrity when concealment is used by others; and it must be confessed that the constant practice of these vices gives them a wonderful aptitude in detecting the slightest semblance of them in those with whom they are dealing. Our friend Chang affects a taste for literature, and we are told

writes verses; this is the case with most men of education and fashion in China, and impromptu composition is an usual occupation at their convivial meetings.'

And this opinion he hazards, notwithstanding his anticipations of a state of *surveillance* were fully answered. The characteristic jealousy of the Chinese government, prevented any thing like intercourse with the natives, which, if it could have taken place, must, with Mr. Ellis, have been (as we have already seen) confined entirely to signs.

We pass, however, to another subject; one upon which the author may be considered as possessing a competent knowledge; we mean the object of the embassy. This he has stated with clearness, and we think his observations on the propriety of the performance of the ko-tou, or ceremony of reception, are marked by great good sense. It is easy to perceive that the Chinese, in the course of the discussions on this most interesting subject, displayed an acuteness, and diplomatic subtlety, that would not have disgraced the most accomplished European negociator. Their superiority over his lordship is very evident, and not contented with succeeding in their views, they manifested a disposition to make his lordship feel the difference between a civilized people and barbarians, as they were pleased to term the English embassy. It is impossible not to consider the following account of an edict of the emperor, as more derogatory to the dignity of the embassy than the ko-tou with its nine prostrations.

'Sir George collected the substance of a late edict respecting us, to the following effect. It commenced by announcing the return of the embassy, and after describing us as persons in strange dresses, prohibited our stopping, or going on shore. All persons were also forbidden to molest us by gazing at us, to sell us books or articles of furniture, and were generally ordered to follow their usual occupations: a particular injunction was addressed to the women, commanding them to keep out of our sight. An observation of General Wang's throws light upon the frequent repetition of this injunction. A party of Tartars belonging to some barbarous tribes, passing through the country on a similar occasion to the present, violated the women of the villages on the route; and as all foreigners are alike despised by the Chinese, we, until known, were suspected of equal brutality. It must be confessed, that the freedom allowed to us is quite irreconcilable with this edict.'

Mr. Ellis has his revenge when *he* describes the Chinese; and before we terminate our notice of this work, it will be proper to state, that there is *one* general idea, impressed on our minds by this gentleman, with more than ordinary pains. It is, if we comprehend the author rightly, the only general trait of *manners*, (for it is certainly under that head that we are to place it,) that we have derived from the perusal of this uninteresting work: the Chinese, to believe Mr. Ellis, are a "noisy, nasty" people. We should rather say, "a stinking people." The sufferings sustained by Mr. Ellis, from the want of cleanliness on the part of the natives, must have been extreme. Indeed, our author, on one occasion, doubts whether stench ought not to be considered as one of the sources of

the *sublime*; agreeing with those of the Scottish school of philosophers, who think the perception of *great power*, one of the most fruitful sources of this emotion. We hasten to quit the task of condemnation, regretting that the work should have been deemed fit for publication in this country, while so many productions of the British press, are suffered to pass unnoticed by our booksellers, and for this obvious reason, are almost unknown and unnoticed by the American public. We can see no good reason why we should have "all the tediousness of English literature bestowed upon us," which some of these gentlemen determine shall be the case, "though it were twice as much." We recommend to their attention the following remarks from the pen of one of the most accomplished scholars among us, and sincerely hope it may have due weight in future. "It is this kind of empiricism on the one hand, and presumption on the other, which arrests our solid advancement, and degrades us from our true level in the eyes of Europe. I would prefer that our taste and intelligence should be tested by the English works reprinted among us, although these, too commonly, have been *trumpery* and *insignificant*. Our booksellers seem to have been governed by the panegyrics of English reviews, and the success of a book, as evidenced by the number of editions; without making allowance for the influence of venality or party spirit in those panegyrics, and the circumstances that, in so vast a reading public as the British, no kind of trash can fail to have a number of eager consumers. Hence we have been inundated with what could have no other than the worst of effects on American taste, and must either produce, or pamper an intellectual chlorosis."*

[The following article came to hand after the review of Mr. Ellis's Journal was in type. It contains a very fair account of a work that is interesting, as it completes the view of Lord Amherst's embassy to China. Mr. M'Leod's narrative, we observe, has been announced, as about to be republished in this city, and it was our intention, on its appearance, to have written some account of it; but our perusal of the English copy enables us to say, that we have found the following notice so entirely just, that we have been induced to alter our plan. Our readers will observe that Mr. M'Leod's narrative, being principally confined to events that occurred in the absence of Mr. Ellis, there is no tiresome repetition of incident.—*Edit. An. Mag.*]

ART. IV. *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty's late ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the coast of Corea, and through its numerous hitherto undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lew-chew; with an Account of her Shipwreck in the Straits of Gaspar.* By John M'Leod, Surgeon of the Alceste, 8vo. Plates. 1817.

[From the Eclectic Review.]

WE had intended to blend this article with one which will in our next number, we expect, be devoted to the larger work of Mr. Ellis; but on looking through Mr. M'Leod's volume, for the purpose of obtaining a general notion of its contents, we have found in it so much of interest and novelty, that we cannot feel

* Walsh's American Register. Vol. I. Introduction.

satisfied without giving it a separate analysis, and putting it fairly and singly forward on the ground of its own merits. Mr M'Leod is a man of sense and observation; he has made active use of his eyes and intellect; and, if his style is never very highly wrought, and even, sometimes, a little defective in point of correctness, there is yet a plain, manly, seaman-like distinctness and strength in his language, a clearness in his descriptions, and a vein of genuine English humour in his way of telling a story, that altogether afford ample compensation for the neglect of refinement. At the same time, we would suggest to Mr. M. the expediency of abstaining for the future from all light and jesting mention of any thing in the slightest degree connected with religion; to do this is neither wise nor manly; it will not, assuredly, commend the writer to the good opinion of those whose approbation is the most to be desired. There is not, indeed, much of this in his narrative; still, there is something, and whatever is in the smallest portion tinctured with this offensive levity, should be carefully expunged.

We shall not, in this place, enumerate the names of the individuals attached to the late Chinese embassy, nor advert to any of the arrangements connected with it; and we shall consider the voyage of the *Alceste* with as little reference as possible to the circumstances of the mission. The adventures of the political voyagers were, in truth, rather dull and insipid; their business lay in a tedious and unvaried country, and with a very unentertaining people, and their discussions chiefly turned upon points of wearisome ceremony; but to the commander of the *Alceste* we are indebted for considerable discoveries, and to the surgeon of that frigate, for a very lively and instructive narrative of interesting and important events. The squadron, of which Captain Murray Maxwell was the commander, comprised the *Alceste* frigate, of forty-six guns, his majesty's brig *Lyra*, captain Basil Hall, and the General Hewitt Indiaman, Captain Campbell.

On the 9th of February, 1816, the ships sailed from Spithead; on the 18th reached Madeira, and on the 4th of March crossed the line, the usual ceremonies being observed by the crew. On the 16th, the squadron separated; the two smaller vessels 'were directed to make the best of their way to the Cape of Good Hope,' while the frigate stood over to the American coast, and on the 21st reached Rio Janeiro. The death of the queen of Portugal, which took place the day before their arrival, had put a stop to all public amusements, the reigning prince was closely shut up, and 'swarms of priests occupied every avenue to the palace, and hung in clusters on the staircases. St. Sebastians seems to be a soil, in which these members of the *Autos da Fé* still thrive well.' The funeral took place by torch-light, and the principal mourners, eight noblemen on horseback, with their huge broad-brimmed hats, long black robes, and glittering stars, presented to the lively spirits of our countrymen 'the whimsical combination of a coal-heaver, a priest, and a knight.' 'They do Bonaparte here the honour of being very much afraid of him; and keep a bright eye to windward,

lest he should break adrift from St. Helena, and come down upon them before the wind.'

They quitted Rio Janeiro on the 31st of March; in less than three weeks, they reached the Cape; and on the 8th of June, anchored in Anjeri Road, Java. Here they overtook the other ships, and such was the superior rate of sailing of the *Alceste*, that it enabled her to touch at Rio Janeiro, 'without in any way delaying the general passage; as notwithstanding this, she nearly overtook her consorts at the Cape. The same was the case here, though she remained ten days behind, being able to afford them, in such a run, a start of 1000 or 1500 miles.'

On the 28th of July, the ship anchored off the mouth of the Pei-Ho; but as the Chinese were not quite prepared for them, it was some days before a regular communication was established. The first appearance of the two delegated mandarins, did not strike our author with much reverential feeling. He compares them, with their 'short jacket or gown,' and 'crape petticoats,' to 'bulky old women,' and this irreverent disposition does not appear to have diminished on further acquaintance. Off Macao, the squadron had been joined by the *Discovery* and the *Investigator*, two 'surveying ships' in the service of the East-India Company, and it was now arranged, that a separation should take place, for the purpose of exploring the gulf of Pe-tche-lee. Whether it was politic or not, thus to run the hazard of alarming the jealous fears of the Chinese, we shall not now inquire; but the result of this cruize has certainly been very gratifying, inasmuch as it has rectified several prevailing errors respecting the geography and hydrography of this part of the world, and added materially to our knowledge of the coast and islands of this extensive gulf. The *Alceste* and *Discovery* stood to the North-eastward, and coasted along the hitherto unexplored shore of the gulf of Lea-tong. From incidental observations in this volume, and from the map in Mr. Ellis's Journal, we collect that the head of this gulf was not examined. On the 24th of August 'about noon' they were gratified with the sight of the great wall. They were then in lat. 39, 29, north, long. 120, 6, east, and this stupendous object winding over the loftiest hills, in extended and majestic sweep, bore N. W. by W. its 'nearest and lowest point being then distant about six or seven leagues. They now stood across toward the coast of Chinese Tartary, and landed. The inhabitants were extremely inquisitive, but not uncivil. They testified an inordinate partiality for anchor-buttons, and very little appetite for Spanish dollars. The Chinese language, dress, manners, and religion were prevalent here. The people displayed remarkable neatness in their houses and gardens, and 'there was an air of comfort about their villages, not always to be found in the more civilized parts of Europe.' They afterwards discovered a cluster of islands, and determined the shape and direction of the narrow promontory which forms the eastern boundary of the gulf of Lea-tong. In the mean time, Captain Hall had 'surveyed the western

and southern shores of the gulf of Pe-tche-lee, which were found to be in general low.

'On the 26th we weighed from Zeu-a-tau, and next morning arrived at Oie-aie-oie, a very extensive and secure harbour, the Lyra sounding the passage in. On our entrance a number of Mandarins (or, as the seamen termed them *mad marines*) came on board to pay their respects; and an old turret on the face of a hill fired three popguns by way of salute, turning out about a dozen and a half of soldiers, who looked a good deal like the stage-military in an old-fashioned play.'

A different arrangement was now made, the company's ships returned to Macao, while the frigate and brig stood over for the purpose of exploring the coast of Corea. The result of their investigation was the discovery that our maps of this part of the world are altogether erroneous; that the land hitherto taken for continent, is, in fact, broken into innumerable islands; and that the real line of coast lies upwards of a hundred miles, '*high and dry* up the country, according to the existing charts.' It is, indeed, somewhat curious to compare former delineations, such, for instance, as that in Arrowsmith's Asia, with that in Mr. Ellis's map, though of indifferent execution, and to observe of what mere guesses and approximations science is sometimes made up. The first cluster of these islands was named Sir James Hall's Group. 'The natives here exhibited, by signs and gestures, the greatest aversion to the landing of a party from the ships, making cut-throat motions by drawing their hands across their necks, and pushing the boats away from the beach; but they offered no serious violence.'

By the representation of their dress, habits of life, and dwellings, given in an annexed plate, it would seem that these islanders enjoy the comforts and some of the luxuries of life; and from subsequent portions of the work, it would appear not improbable that these violent and repulsive gestures were only designed to intimate their own danger if detected in holding communication with foreign visitants. On the 4th of September, the vessels cast anchor in 'a fine bay formed by the main land to the northward and eastward,' in front of a village, with a larger town at some distance. Here they were visited by a chief with a numerous retinue, one of whom, to the great amusement of our countrymen, received a smart *bamboozing*, 'and as the culprit squalled, a number of his companions standing round him joined in the howl.' These visiters behaved with great propriety, and carefully examined and noted down every particular relating to the ships; but when the boats were manned, and, with Captain Maxwell, rowed for the shore, the agitation of the old chief was excessive, and when they landed, he exhibited all the signs of extreme despondency and grief. 'It was explained as well as it could be done that no injury was intended, and that we were friends. He pointed to the sun; and describing its revolving course four times, he drew his hand across his throat, and dropping his chin upon his breast, shut his eyes as if dead; intimating that in four days,' he should

be in danger of losing his head if he permitted further intrusion. The party made an appeal to his hospitality, by making signs of hunger; but this failed of their object, for though it brought refreshments, in procured no invitation into their houses; they were therefore rejected,

‘and by way of a hint that this was not *our* mode of treating strangers, invited them to return to the frigate, where they should dine handsomely, and meet with every respect. The old man, who had observed attentively, and seemed perfectly to comprehend, the meaning of the signs, answered by going through the motions of eating and drinking with much appearance of liveliness and satisfaction, patting his stomach afterwards, to say all was very fine; then looking grave, he drew his hand across his neck, and shut his eyes; as if to say, “what signifies your good dinners when I must lose my head.”’

He afterwards, on board the *Alceste*, wrote some characters on a slip of paper, to which he required an answer; the paper was retained, and when shown at Canton to Mr. Bannerman, ‘turned out to be, “I don’t know who ye are; what business have ye here?” a very pertinent inquiry, and to which it would not have been easy to give a satisfactory reply. He appeared very grateful to Captain M. ‘for not insisting upon going into the town,’ and received a bible which he carried on shore, ‘with much care, most likely supposing it to be some official communication.’

When they left this place which was named Basil’s Bay, they stood to the southward, through innumerable and lofty islands, inhabited, and of small extent; the outer group was called the Amherst Isles, and the inner the Corean Archipelago. The inhabitants were on the whole friendly, but averse to intercourse with the voyagers, motioning to them to depart, and ‘making the usual signal with their hands across the throat.’ Corea, or Kaoli, is tributary to the emperor of China, and sends, in acknowledgment of fealty, a triennial embassy.

‘His Corean Majesty may well be styled “king of ten thousand isles,” but his *supposed* continental dominions have been very much circumscribed by our visit to his shores. Except in the late and present embassy, no ships had ever penetrated into the Yellow Sea; the Lion had kept the coast of China aboard only, and had neither touched at the Tartar nor Corean side. Cook, Perouse, Bougainville, Broughton and others, had well defined the bounds on the eastern coast of this country, but the western had hitherto been laid down on the charts from imagination only, the main land being from a hundred and thirty, to a hundred and fifty miles farther to the eastward, than these charts had led us to believe.’

The language of Corea is affirmed to have ‘no resemblance in sound to the colloquial language of China,’ though the ‘literati’ use the Chinese written character.

After disengaging themselves from this wilderness of isles, they passed a volcano, of which at the distance of two or three miles, the sulphurous smell was ‘very strong.’ In their approach to the islands of Lewchew, (the Lekeyos of the charts,) the ships were

in some danger, especially the smaller one, from that terror of seamen, a strong wind on a lee shore.

'The *Lyra*, indeed, could not have tacked in such a swell, and was almost too near to attempt wearing. Both ships, therefore, stood on with every sail they could carry, on the starboard tack, endeavouring to weather the reef. Much anxiety existed, at this moment, on board the *Alceste*, for the fate of the *Brig*; the breakers rearing their white tops close to leeward of her, and rolling, with terrific force, upon the rocks. By steady steerage, however, and a press of sail, she at last passed the danger, and bore up through a channel formed by the reef and some high islets to the southward, very much to the satisfaction of all concerned; and she was followed by the frigate.'

The morning view presented to the navigators the refreshing scenery of a highly cultivated shore, and the approach of boats from the land, offering them vegetables and fresh water, and pointing out the safest anchorage. The ships made sail in the direction pointed out, and came to in front of 'a considerable town, with a number of vessels at anchor under it; in a harbour, the mouth of which was formed by two pier heads.' The natives, to whom the sight was altogether new, crowded to the shore, and the ships were speedily visited by the 'people in office,' who made the usual inquiries. The general answer to this was correct, but we are sorry to say, that it was judged expedient to practise deception on these good people, by informing them that the ship had sprung a leak, and by turning the cock in the hold, filling the well, and setting the chain-pumps to work. The natives gazed with astonishment and sympathy at the volumes of water thrown out on the main deck, and without delay collected a strong party of their carpenters, and brought them on board to assist in repairing the damage. When this kind offer was evaded, with an intimation that fresh provisions and water would be most acceptable, an immediate and liberal supply was furnished of 'bullocks, pigs, goats, fowls, eggs, and other articles, with abundance of excellent sweet potatoes, vegetables, fruit then in season, and even candles and fire-wood.' For all these receipts were taken, but though payment was repeatedly tendered, none would be accepted. After a short period they were visited by a man of rank, who was handsomely entertained, and by whom they were hospitably feasted in return. A proposal to 'walk over' the city was, however, civilly put aside, and a degree of caution was, at first, very properly exercised towards the new comers, who attributed much, even of the slight restriction imposed upon them, to the interference of *Bonaparte*, a native, so termed by our countrymen from his 'dark and peculiar aspect,' and from his supposed inclination to keep them at greater distance. The lower orders conducted themselves with the greatest courtesy. When the officers left the public dinner, the natives drew up on both sides of the way, to gratify their curiosity, in the utmost regularity; the inner row formed of the smallest boys kneeling; the second of larger children 'squatting;' the next rank of men, and the tallest stood behind, or mounted on stones or hillocks. The most entire confidence was, at last, established, and

Captain Maxwell was permitted to land his stores for inspection, and to establish his rope-makers and artificers of various kinds, at convenient points of the shore. They provided all kinds of accommodation to the utmost extent of their power, and even felled wood for spars and towed them alongside. The island of Lewchew is about sixty miles long, and twenty broad, and is the principal of a group of thirty-six, subject to the same monarch. Its early history is, as usual, involved in obscurity and fable, and the few main points on which dependance can be placed, contain very little interest or variety. It is situated in the happiest climate in the globe; the scenery is delightful, the people healthy, active, and apt in receiving instruction. Madera Cosyong, one of the most assiduous in his attention to our countrymen, is described as a finished gentleman. He paid great attention to every word he heard spoken, wrote it in his memorandum book, and in a few weeks made such a proficiency in the English language, as to converse without an interpreter. The ready and accommodating politeness of this people was altogether extraordinary. When the health of the king of Lewchew was drunk in a bumper at Captain Maxwell's table, a Lewchewer immediately rose; and addressing the captain through the interpreter, very feelingly expressed his gratification at the compliment; and precisely as a European gentleman would have done under similar circumstances, proposed, in return, a bumper to the king of the *Engelees*. Though much of the volume yet lies before us, we cannot refuse space to an extract or two, in further illustration of the character and condition of this amiable people. After describing the scenery in the neighbourhood of the ships, Mr. M'Leod proceeds as follows:—

‘At a short distance from this eminence, the traveller is led by a foot-path to what seems only a little wood; on entering which, under an archway formed by the intermingling branches of the opposite trees, he passes along a serpentine labyrinth, every here and there intersected by others. Not far from each other, on either side of these walks, small wicker doors are observed, on opening any of which he is surprised by the appearance of a court-yard and house, with the children, and all the usual cottage train, generally gambolling about: so that, while a man fancies himself in some lonely and sequestered retreat, he is, in fact, in the middle of a populous, but invisible, village.’

While the ships were here, a young man whose case had long been hopeless, died; and while the English carpenters made his coffin, the natives dug his grave. When the funeral was in preparation, a number of the principal inhabitants, dressed in their mourning habits, ‘white robes with black or blue sashes,’ were observed to be in waiting. While the arrangements were making for the ceremony, they were closely attentive to the proceedings; and when they had ascertained the plan by which they were adjusted, took their place in the procession, exactly where nothing less than the most consummate feeling of propriety could have directed them. The dead man's

‘messmates bore the coffin, covered with the colours; the seamen ranged themselves two and two, in the rear of it: next were the mid-

shipmen; then the superior officers; and last of all the Captain, as is usual in military ceremonies of this kind. The natives, who had been watching attentively this arrangement, and *observing the order of precedence to be inverted*, without the least hint being given, but with that unassuming modesty and delicacy which characterize them, when the procession began to move, *placed themselves in front of the coffin*, and in this order marched slowly to the grave.——They took the directions for the shape of a stone, to be placed at the head of a tomb, which, as a mark of respect, they had already begun to erect over the grave. This was soon finished, and the shape of the English letters being drawn with Indian ink, they, notwithstanding the simplicity of their tools, cut out, with much neatness, the following epitaph, which, when explained to them, seemed to be highly gratifying:—*Here lies buried, aged 21 years, William Hares, seaman of his Britannic Majesty's ship Alceste. Died Oct. 15, 1816. This monument was erected by the king and inhabitants of this most hospitable island.* The day after the interment they went to the tomb, with their priests, and performed the funeral service according to the rites of their own religion.'

Their skill in medicine and surgery is very small; their agriculture is simple; their dancing is performed on one foot only. It is somewhat singular, that 'almost the whole animal creation here is of diminutive size,' though all are excellent in their kind. Bulls, goats, and pigs are small, and the lords of the creation are themselves reduced to the average height of five feet two inches, but at the same time 'sturdy, well built, and athletic.' The origin of these islanders is decidedly not Chinese, but rather Corean or Japanese. They are of fair complexion. They seemed to be entirely without weapons of war. The effects of fire-arms excited their utmost astonishment, and they begged that their birds might not be killed, as they were 'glad to see them flying about their houses.' Their language is a dialect of the Japanese. A few days before the departure of the ships, a man of high rank, said to be next heir to the throne, visited them, and a pleasant interchange of entertainments took place. Nearly at the same time, a proposal was made by 'some great man,' probably the king, to the boatswain's wife; great promises were made, and we are sorry to say, that the overture was not instantly rejected; two days were taken for consideration, and ultimately the husband refused to part with his wife; we are surprised that Captain Maxwell should permit this hesitation. On the 27th of October, the ships unmoored, and the Lewchewers, in their best apparel, proceeded to the temple, and 'offered up to their gods a solemn sacrifice, invoking them to protect the *Engelees*.' How long shall this admirable people be destitute of religious truth? The parting was extremely affecting; the friendly natives crowded on board to shake hands; they took leave with tears; and 'even hard faced Buonaparte was not unmoved.'

When Captain Maxwell reached Macao, he found the Chinese disposed to throw every possible obstacle in his way, and to treat him with all imaginable insult. The return of the embassy was known, and the viceroy of Canton, released from the apprehensions

which he had felt of detection and punishment, was disposed to visit upon our countrymen, all the vexations which his fears had occasioned him. He harassed the traders, refused the General Hewitt permission to load, and treated Captain Maxwell with studied insolence. Captain M. applied for permission to pass up the river to a safe anchorage; this was refused, with an order that he should provide a security merchant to answer for his good conduct. Captain Maxwell intimated in reply, that a repetition of such a demand would put him under the necessity of ordering the messenger, a mandarin, to be thrown overboard, and stated his intention of waiting for a pass forty-eight hours, and that if, at the expiration of that time, it had not reached him, he should sail without it. The pass never came, the Chinese pilot 'sneaked off,' the locks and flints of the carronades, to the infinite delight of the crew, were inspected, and Mr. Mayne, the master, volunteered to carry the ship up. The Bocca Tigris, or Bogue, the channel up which the ship had to sail, was strongly fortified, and one hundred and ten pieces of cannon were so disposed, as with moderate skill, to make an assailant repent of his temerity. In addition to these defences, the Chinese '*grand fleet*' of war junks was ready for action. While the vessel was under way, a linguist came on board from the mandarins, desiring, in a high and domineering tone, that the ship should be directly anchored, and that, if we presumed to pass up the river, the batteries would instantly sink her.' Not satisfied with this piece of official insolence, he added some impertinent personalities to the Captain. Captain Maxwell 'calmly observed that he would first pass the batteries, and then hang him at the yard-arm, for daring to bring on board a British man-of-war so impudent a message.' His boat was cut adrift, and he was conveyed below. The junks now began to fire with blank cartridge, which was returned by the ship, *as a salute*.

'On the next tack we passed close to these warriors, who remained quiet until we got inside of them, and opened Chumpee; when that fort, little Annan-hoy, and the junks (now under weigh) began to fire with shot. At this moment the wind becoming light and baffling, we were obliged to drop anchor in Anson's bay, in order to hold the ground we had gained, and that they might not suppose they had driven us back; and in the act of wearing for this purpose, we gave the admiral of the junks a single shot only, by way of a hint. They immediately ceased firing; and their junks anchoring near us, all remained quiet until a little after eight o'clock, when a light breeze sprung up, which enabled us to lay our course, and the anchor was again weighed. The moment this was observed by the junks, they beat their gongs, fired guns, and threw up sky-rockets, to give the alarm, and in an instant the batteries were completely illuminated, displaying lanterns as large as moderate sized balloons, (the finest mark imaginable for us,) commencing also a warm, but ill-directed fire from both sides. Steering a steady course, the ship maintained a slow and regular fire, as the guns could be brought to bear, without yawing her. From the lightness of the breeze, which the cannonade seemed to lessen, it was a considerable time before we got abreast of the largest battery. At last, when within pistol-shot of the angle of it, and just before they could get all their guns to bear into the ship, a

whole broadside, with cool aim, was poured in among them, the two-and-thirty pounders rattling the stones about their ears in fine style, and giving them at the same time three *roaring* cheers. This salvo was decisive at this particular point; their lights disappeared in a twinkling, and they were completely silenced.—The Chinese linguist, who had crawled below, when he saw matters taking a serious turn, and having observed there was no joking in the case, began in real earnest to think, as one part of the promise had been fulfilled, that *his* time had now arrived. Coming trembling upon deck, he prostrated himself, and kissing the Captain's feet, begged for mercy. At that moment, hearing the order given to 'stand by the larboard guns for Tiger Island,' (on which we then supposed there was a battery) he said with a rueful countenance, "what! no hab done yet?"—"not half done"—was the reply.—"How many guns have you got on Tiger Island?"—but, without waiting to answer this question, (or, indeed, reflecting in his perturbation that there were none at all) he wrung his hands, groaned heavily, and dived again below.

These prompt and decided measures produced a very wholesome effect; permission was given by the crest-fallen viceroy for the General Hewitt to *load immediately*; and a high mandarin waited upon Captain Maxwell 'to welcome him into the river, and compliment him with all possible politeness.' Without a single casualty on our side, the Chinese lost in this foolish business forty-seven men killed, beside the average proportion *spoiled*, i. e. wounded. An additional advantage produced by it to the English was, that it compelled the viceroy to lay aside his intention of offering further and grosser insults to the embassy, and 'commanded as brilliant an entry for the embassy as ever had been witnessed on any other occasion.' Mr. M'Leod seems to have a mortal antipathy against every thing Chinese; their music he describes in the following choice phrase:

'By collecting together in a small place, a dozen bulls, the same number of jack-asses, a gang of tinkers round a copper caldron, some cleavers and marrow-bones, with about thirty cats; then letting the whole commence bellowing, braying, hammering, and catterwauling together, and some idea may be formed of the melody of a Chinese Orchestra.'

While they lay here, a circumstance occurred which showed at once the selfish apathy of the general character of the Chinese, and that the general rule is not without exception. In November, 1816, a small boat, containing three men, a woman, and a child, was run down at midnight by a junk, while several others were sailing near, without the smallest effort on the part of any of them to save a single individual. Providentially, their shrieks were heard on board the *Alceste*, and the hon. Mr. Stopford, the officer in charge of the watch, with several others, jumped into a boat, and came up in time to save the three men; the woman and child were lost. The next day

'one of them returned on board with a *cumshaw*, or present, of three wild ducks, which he presented on his knees to the gentleman who had saved him, stating that by the junk running over their *Sanpan*, he had lost his wife and a *bull-child* (his only mode of expressing a boy) and must himself with the other men have perished also but for the assist-

ance we afforded them. Pleased with this appearance of heart and gratitude, where so little was expected, some money and provisions were given him for his ducks, and he was allowed to bring on board fish and other articles for sale, which, from becoming rather a favourite, soon enabled him to repair the loss of his boat."

The embassy, after a separation of nearly five months, rejoined their naval friends at Canton. The transactions which there took place between Lord Amherst and the viceroy, we shall refer to elsewhere. On the 9th of January, 1817, the ships quitted China. At Manilla, the *Lyra* parted company, and sailed for India. A few interesting particulars are detailed respecting the Philippine Islands, for which we must refer to the volume, and pass on to that moment when every possible precaution being taken, the leads going in both chains, 'men looking out at the mast-heads, yard-arms, and bowsprit end, the captain, master, and officer of the watch, on deck, and keenly observant, just as they were clearing the straits of Gaspar, and leaving behind 'the last danger of this sort between them and England,

'the ship, about half-past seven in the morning, struck with a horrid crash on a reef of sunken rocks, and remained immoveable! It was soon indeed but too evident, that any attempt to move her would be attended with the most fatal consequences; for, on each side of the rocks on which she hung, the water deepened from ten to seventeen fathoms immediately around her; and from the injury received, she must have gone down in a few minutes, had she forced her way over this narrow reef.'

Captain Maxwell, in this trying exigency, conducted himself to admiration. He landed the ambassador on the island, about three miles and a half distant, exerted himself to secure the articles of most pressing necessity, and maintained by his calmness and resolution, the most complete control over the crew. Neither does Lord Amherst appear to have failed in the smallest portion of that dignity and self-possession which were now especially required from a man in his prominent station, as an example to others. After the necessary deliberation, it was determined that his lordship and suite should embark in the barge and cutter, and endeavour to reach Java. After what Mr. M'Leod calls a *fete champetre* in this wilderness, in which 'salt was received with the same horror as arsenic, forty-seven persons entered the boats, and among them a Mr. Somerset, 'who had come out,' as Mr. M. dryly remarks, 'to see a little of the world.' Their stock of provisions was exceedingly slender, and their supply of water (none had been found on the island) fearfully small. The number left behind was 200 men and boys, and one female, and of these, the most immediate anxiety was for a sufficient supply of water. For two or three days much misery was experienced from thirst; but at length, after digging upwards of twenty feet, muddy fresh water was procured; and afterwards from another well, it was obtained in larger quantity, and of better quality. In the mean time the wreck remained stationary, and hands were busily employed in stripping it of every thing useful; but on the third day after the ship had struck, the

party stationed at the ship were surrounded by a number of Malay proas, well armed and full of men; not a moment was to be lost they sprung into the boat along side and made for the shore, closely pursued by the pirates, but happily in vain. Soon after it was reported that 'the savages,' armed with spears, were landing. 'Under all the depressing circumstances,' says Mr. M., 'attending shipwreck; of hunger, thirst, and fatigue; and menaced by a ruthless foe; it was glorious to see the British spirit stanch and unsubdued.'

The stock of arms was small, consisting of a dozen cutlasses, thirty muskets and bayonets, and seventy-five ball cartridges; but every man, with right good will, contrived to arm himself in one way or another; and even a man who had been severely bruised by the falling of the masts, and was unable to stand, employed himself in *fishing*, with rope-yarn, the blade of an old razor to the end of two sticks, that if they came 'within reach of his hammock he might mark them.' An *abbatis* was formed, and though the present proved a false alarm, it was afterwards strengthened into a strong fortification. The next day the second lieutenant, Mr. Hay, with the boats, drove the pirates from the ship, but not until they had set fire to her, and by this dastardly and atrocious act, conferred upon our countrymen an unintentional benefit, as it enabled them to get at many articles which floated up when the decks were burnt away; among other things, a number of muskets and boarding pikes were secured, and from the loose powder which had been preserved, about sixteen hundred ball cartridges were made up.

'Wednesday, at day-light, two of the pirate proas, with each a canoe astern, were discovered close in with the cove where our boats were moored. Lieutenant Hay, (a straight forward sort of fellow) who had the guard that night at the boats, and of course slept in them, immediately dashed at them with the barge, cutter, and gig. On perceiving this, they cut adrift their canoes, and made all sail; they rather distanced the cutter and gig, but the barge gained on them. On closing, the Malays evinced every sign of defiance, placing themselves in the most threatening attitudes, and firing their swivels at the barge. This was returned by Mr. Hay with the only musket in the boat, and as they closed nearer, the Malays commenced throwing their javelins and darts, several falling into the barge, but without wounding any of the men. Soon after, they were grappled by our fellows, when three of them having been shot, and a fourth knocked down with the butt-end of the musket, five more jumped overboard and drowned themselves, (evidently disdaining quarter) and two were taken prisoners, one of whom was severely wounded.'

The proa went down almost immediately. The ferocity of the Malays was so untamable, that one of them, nearly dead, snatched at a cutlass which lay within his reach, and it was with difficulty wrested from him. The aspect of these wretches is described as truly hideous: they are an 'unjoyous race, and seldom smile.' At the same time, men so desperate in evil, might, if rightly taught, exert admirable energies in good; the conduct of the Malay offi-

cers and men in Ceylon, is a proof of their firm and honourable character, under circumstances favourable to its development. The dangers and emergencies of our countrymen began now to multiply, but their spirit, borne up by the admirable conduct of Captain Maxwell, never gave way. The Malay fleet was increased to a formidable amount, and demonstrations were made of a combined attack by sea and land. Preparations were made to receive them, and to seize their vessels when near the shore, but to the great disappointment of the besieged, the assault was not made. The number of the proas still continued to increase, and the little stock of provisions in Fort Maxwell to diminish alarmingly. Desperate measures seemed necessary, and were actually under discussion, when a square-rigged vessel was discovered in the horizon, standing towards the island under crowded sail; the pirates made off, and the party were shortly in communication with the Company's cruiser, Ternate. On the 7th of March, the whole were embarked either in the ship or in the boats, which, from the smallness of the vessel, were appropriated to a portion of the crew, and on the 9th reached Batavia. The whole time of their stay on the island called Pulo Leat, was nineteen days, and the providential interferences in their favour are thus enumerated:

‘We had great reason to be thankful that the ship did not fall from the rocks on which she first struck, into deeper water, for then all must have perished;—that no accident happened to the boats which conveyed the embassy to Batavia, for in that case, we should never have been heard of;—that we found water;—that no mutiny or division took place among ourselves;—that we had been able to stand our ground against the pirates;—and that the Ternate had succeeded in anchoring in sight of the island; which she was only enabled to do by a fortuitous slant of wind for an hour or two. Had we been unfortunate in any one of these circumstances, few would have remained to tell our tale.’

So decidedly providential was this preservation, that the ship Charlotte, which sailed from Batavia at the same time with the Ternate, and for the same purpose, after beating against wind and current from the 24th of February to the 16th of March, was unable to fetch further than the south-east end of the isle of Banca, the current constantly sweeping them to leeward as soon as they opened the straits. Mr. Mayne, the master of the Alceste, with two other gentlemen of that ship, who were now on board the Charlotte, anxious respecting the fate of their friends, ‘resolved to shove off in the barge,’ with a small store of provisions for their use. They rowed till the following day before they came in sight of the spot where they had left their companions; instead of whom they found a large flotilla of Malays, by three of whom they were instantly chased. The crisis was dreadful; they rowed for life, but the Malays, ‘in addition to their sails, pulled furiously, and were gaining fast.’ Our countrymen had seized their arms and were preparing to make their lives a bloody purchase, when a heavy squall came on, which compelled the pirates to strike sail, while the boat, ‘carrying through all, got a-head and escaped.’

On the 12th of April, the embassy, with the officers and crew of the *Alceste*, embarked for England in the *Cæsar*, Captain Taylor, and landed on their native isle, August 17.

During the passage, the ship took fire, but it was soon extinguished. On board the vessel was an Ourang Outang, of which an interesting description, but not containing any thing particularly novel, is given. Another passenger was of a very different kind, and a full account is given of his appearance and manners; this was a Boa Constrictor, 'somewhat small of his kind, being only about sixteen feet long, and of about eighteen inches in circumference, but his stomach was rather disproportionate to his size.' There were originally two, but one of them had escaped from his confinement, 'and very soon cleared the decks, as every body very civilly made way for him. Not being used to a ship, however, or taking, perhaps, the sea for a green field, he sprawled overboard and was drowned.'

The other was safely secured in a properly constructed cage, and six goats were provided as 'live stock' for his consumption. A most horrible description is given of the terror and sufferings of one of these animals when put into the cage of the dreadful reptile. The snake at first scarcely observed the 'poor animal,' but at length fixed upon it 'a deadly and malignant eye.'

'The first operation was that of darting out his forked tongue, and at the same time rearing a little his head; then suddenly seizing the goat by the fore leg with his mouth, and throwing him down, he was encircled in an instant in his horrid folds. So quick, indeed, and so instantaneous was the act, that it was impossible for the eye to follow the rapid convolution of his elongated body. It was not a regular *screw-like* turn that was formed, but resembling rather a knot, one part of the body overlaying the other, as if to add weight to the muscular pressure, the more effectually to crush his object.'

The gradual process by which this tremendous animal devours his prey, has been so often described, that we shall not repeat it here, but we cannot refrain from expressing our aversion to the inhumanity which did not at least try the experiment, whether the snake would not have relished the goat fresh-killed, as well as when offered to it living. Mr. M'Leod expresses his feelings of 'horror and disgust' upon this subject with discrimination and energy. The reptile died between the Cape and St. Helena, and on dissection, 'the coats of his stomach were discovered to be excoriated and perforated by worms.'

At St. Helena, Lord Amherst and the principal officers were introduced to Napoleon, who, as usual, captivated the whole party by his address. 'Although there was nothing *descending* in his manner, yet it was affable and polite, and whatever may be his general habit, he can behave himself *very prettily* if he pleases.' His health is good, and his corpulence has been much exaggerated. His interview with Lord Amherst was private. When Captain Maxwell was introduced, he reminded him that he had formerly taken one of his frigates in the Mediterranean:—'*Vous etiez très*

mechant,—*Eh bien!* your government must not blame you for the loss of the *Alceste*, for you have taken one of my frigates.' He inquired of 'young Jeffery Amherst, what presents he had brought from China;' of Mr. M'Leod, what time he had served; of Mr. Abel, he made inquiries in natural history; of Mr. Cook, if he was a descendant from Captain Cook. Dr. Lynn was examined in medical science. He questioned Mr. Griffith, the chaplain, respecting the religion of the Chinese, and expressed his wishes that he might be 'made a prebendary.' In this way he accommodated himself to every one, going round the whole circle, and bowed to each as they retired.

We again recommend this volume as containing an uncommon variety of interesting matter. We wish that the surgeons of our ships of war, many of them men of talent and science, and with great opportunities of observation, would favour us in this unpretending and accessible way with the result of their adventures and inquiries. It is by spinning out the matter of lively octavos into tedious and unreadable quartos, that knowledge is oppressed and over-laid.

ART. V.—*Description of the picture*, Christ healing the sick in the temple, painted by Benjamin West, esqr. President of the Royal Academy of Great Britain, and presented by him to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

"And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple: and he healed them."

"And when the Chief Priests and Scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying, Hosanna to the Son of David! they were sore displeased."

Matt. chap. xxi. v. 14, 15.

WHEN individuals devote their time and their talents, gratuitously, to the advancement of public good, every act they perform in furtherance of this object, demands our warmest acknowledgments. A munificent donation to a charitable institution must proceed from no common liberality in the donor, for, though sweet be the performance of a generous deed, it is rarely the attribute of those who enjoy the means. The design of at once contributing to the alleviation of helpless infirmity—promoting a school of historical painting, and the arts, here in their infancy—but most especially, of evincing an unimpaired attachment and reminiscence for the soil of one's nativity, is worthy indeed of a mind big with feeling conceptions. The moral influence of these impressions on such as are capable of appreciating them—the lesson they display for the imitation of others, add a weight of consideration to the benign motives of our venerable countryman, Benjamin West. After a separation of upwards of half a century, this eminent artist, confessedly at the head of his profession,—the labours of whose pencil are sought after with avidity by the crowned heads of Europe, turns with fond recollection to the land of his fathers, and, in the exercise of a pure philanthropy, amid surrounding seductions, considers the choicest efforts of his masterly pencil as eminently due in subservience to a pious and benevolent object, for no earthly requital but his country's benefit.

Thus much will be elicited from the most indifferent spectator acquainted with the history of the transaction, before he proceeds to express an opinion upon the painting in detail, respecting which so much has been written and so little understood. But concessions such as these are in no wise to screen the painting from full and free investigation as a work of art—the production of one liable, as all mortals are, occasionally to err, and, (as commonly happens) not exempt from imperfection because abounding with excellence.

The general effect, in the first place, is striking to the beholder, and that which pleases in the whole, may be considered an evidence of general merit in a performance, such as we believe no one, aware of Mr. West's estimation among artists, will be found to dispute. The rich glow of colouring, the relief afforded by the various groups that appear—the solemnity, interest, and suspense of the scene, all contribute to awaken those higher emotions which it is the peculiar glory of a master in the art to call forth.

The principal object that attracts attention is our Saviour. The superior dignity of his mien above all men, points him out at once, as he ought to be, the chief subject of notice. If any objection were to arise in contemplating the physiognomy, which, in studying character, is so material an index, it is perhaps that a sufficient degree of interest is not manifested in the objects presented. The countenance appears too little marked. "He was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief," and though his features were no doubt regular, as we learn from ancient writings, yet the convexity of the forehead, the smoothness of the visage altogether, do not present those occasional strong lines which accompany thought and reflection, and are always more or less indicative of the highest understanding. Midnight praying on the mount, and in the wilderness, must have furrowed that cheek with care and anxiety, which bespeak our sympathy with suffering. The eyes are expressive rather of acuteness than of benignity.

It is understood that modern representations of our Saviour are formed upon the traditions of the fathers, who have not all expressed themselves on this subject in an uniform manner. St. Jerome believes, that the lustre and majesty which shone about our Saviour's face, were capable of winning all hearts; it was this that drew the generality of his Apostles with so much ease to him; it was this majesty that struck those down who came to seize him in the olive garden.

St. Bernard relates, that the people followed him, and were attached to his person, by the allurements of the several graces that shone in him, by the sweetness of his conversation and discourses, and the lustre of his beauty. There is a majority in favour of these opinions, supported by scriptural authority.

"Thou art fairer than the children of men; grace is poured into thy lips.
Psalms, xlv. 3.

St. Chrysostom says, that the people were as it were nailed to our Saviour, and were never weary of seeing and admiring him.

Nicephorus is of opinion that St. Luke drew the pictures of Jesus Christ, the blessed Virgin, and the Apostles, and that by this means their images, represented to the life, were scattered over all the earth. It is certain that there has been always a particular tradition in the church concerning the figure and stature of our Saviour and his Apostles. Our Lord is thus described after the images which are believed to have been painted by St. Luke.

‘He was very beautiful in the face, and about seven spithamas, or six feet high; his hair was inclining to be very fair, not thick, but a little curled; his eyes-brows were black, and did not form exactly a semi-circle. His eyes were large, lively, and something yellowish; his nose long, his beard black, and pretty short; but he wore his hair long, for the scissors had never been used upon his head, nor had the hand of any one touched him besides that of his mother the Virgin, when he was as yet a child. His neck was not stiff, nor his carriage lofty or proud. He stooped a little with his head: his complexion was almost of the colour of wheat; his countenance neither round nor sharp, but like his mother’s, something longish, and pretty much upon the vermilion. Gravity, prudence, meekness, and clemency were painted in his face.’

Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. v. 2. c. 43.

In depicting the countenance of Christ, it may be supposed that great reflection must have been exercised before the imagination of the painter could satisfy itself with its own creation. Of all the component parts of the subject, it is unquestionably the most nice and delicate. It is for the painter or the poet alone to judge of the difficulties of such an occasion, when a happy moment may occur or be wanting, on which so much depends—when success is given, not to labour or industry, but to inspiration of genius—when, it is a fortunate conception in short, formed of the most exquisite assemblages in the mind, that decides the merit of the execution. It is so in poetry, it is so in painting, both nearly allied to each other.

The hands of Jesus, spread out in an attitude of annunciation, are exquisitely wrought, the right seems as if starting from the canvas, the left is contracted, which has given it the appearance of being smaller in size than the other. The drapery is perhaps rather too gaudy for one who, like truth, “needs no ornament.”

Immediately on the right of our Saviour is the Apostle John, whose inanity of expression (if consonant to marbles or traditions) yet seems scarcely to accord with his character in divine works, and pensive attitude in the painting. It is in deviations to effect a striking purpose, that the indulgence of the painter’s imagination is allowed and admired. He must sometimes improve upon strict historical truth, in pursuing the grandeur of his design. How much the great style, such as that before us, exacts from its professors to conceive and represent their subject in a poetical manner, not confined to mere matter of fact, may be seen in the cartoons of Raffaele. In all the pictures in which that painter has represented the apostles, he has drawn them with great nobleness; he has given them as much dignity as the human figure is capable of receiving.

All this is not falsifying the fact. It is taking an allowed poetical license.* A painter of portraits retains the individual likeness; a painter of history shows the man by showing his actions. A painter must compensate the natural deficiencies of his art. He has but one sentence to utter, but one moment to exhibit. He cannot, like the poet or historian, expatiate, and impress the mind with great veneration for the character of the hero or saint he represents. The painter has no other means of conveying an idea of the dignity of the mind, but by that external appearance which grandeur of thought does generally, though not always, impress on the countenance; and by that correspondence of figure to sentiment and situation, which all men wish, but cannot command. The painter, who may in this one particular attain with ease what others desire in vain, ought to give all that he possibly can, since there are so many circumstances of true greatness that he cannot give at all.

On the left of Christ is Peter, whose rugged aspect may well comport with an idea of the vocation he had left, as a fisherman, to follow his divine master. Matthew, farther on, appears the thoughtful spectator,—a man grave and sanctified, well qualified to bear witness to this miracle, and whose narration is the text of the picture.

Judas Iscariot is seen behind the Apostle Matthew, scowling upon the scene, with a look that betrays all the dark principles of his nature, which the painter, with infinite skill, has admirably contrasted with the open, undisguised expression of zeal in the next Apostle, a younger man, who appears in the act of encouraging the father of an insane boy to come forward and submit his unhappy son to the healing power. Here is one of the many hidden beauties of this extraordinary work, that reveal themselves more and more on an attentive study.

The blind man in front of the last mentioned Apostle, is an admirable copy of nature, the more true the nearer we compare it with real instances. His hand, grasping a stick, appears that of one living; his youthful son is represented to us, by the happy power of the artist, the all-dutiful child, and by the inclination of his head, the cast of his eyes, and even the little attention of disposing the hair, as though shipwrecked in hope, yet taught to expect the blessing, from the intent look he raises to regard the figure whence it is reported to flow; beneath, is the group of all others that most arrests the attention, on account of the singular felicity with which the figure of a sick man “nigh unto death” is represented, with hands uplifted, prayer quivering on his lips, and earnest expectation depicted in the strain of every feeble muscle of the face. The pallid hue of the body, the faithful delineation of the veins, the joints of the shrivelled hands, and the anatomical accuracy of the arms, the *toute ensemble* in short, convey so true a likeness of bed-ridden age,—to the effect of which, the white linen drapery, the grey locks, the number of figures interested, and importance given, by

* ————— Pictoribus atque poetis,
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas. *Horat.*

the support of two lusty bearers, have artfully added, that we are constrained to dwell upon this, as next to the figure of our Saviour, the principal object of attraction in the piece.

The sick man's daughter, holding his crutch, has a look of extreme anxiety, the mouth is gently open, the earnestness is thereby increased, while her outstretched neck accords with it. Her beautiful countenance is pale with long attendance on the sick couch, her emotion too evident to be misinterpreted; while care, seated on her brow, is strikingly contrasted with the unconscious gaze of a fine boy about four years old, accompanying her. Beyond these, on the right, a centurion is seen kneeling in an attitude of adoration and expectancy, grounded in faith, awaiting the fulfilment of the miracle. On the extreme right is an elderly female, apparently struggling with disease, who, by the distension of the eyes, and inclination of the body, seems striving to partake of the divine blessing. She is supported by two Roman soldiers, the taller of whom is a remarkably fine study; his limbs admirably proportioned, his countenance noble and with the Roman nose, were no doubt derived from choice models of the Italian school. Just above is seen an aged man sustaining his son, a maniac, who presents the spectacle of lost reason in all its horrors. Mr. West has no doubt taken this from some *Hospital for incurables*, for the wretched being appears in the extreme of frenzied aspect. What the mind feels a horror of, it can rarely bring itself to admire. But, though under the influence of such a feeling, it will pronounce on the merit of a faithful transcript from an original, if such there was in the present case. The physiologist will acknowledge that spare diet, close confinement, and paroxysms of passion, all contribute to communicate a livid paleness to the flesh, which, with the shaved head, (necessary where the brain is affected) and starting eyes, not inaptly denote the deprivation of mental possession. It was necessary to introduce human suffering in its most aggravated degree, in order to convey an adequate idea of the power of Christ, as well as to relieve the monotony of ordinary wo. In an elevated situation over this object, is a most beautiful young girl, the loveliest perhaps that imagination could paint, which agreeably softens the scene to the eye, but it is still more assisted by the amiable looks of the two sisters of the maniac, one of whom, clasping her hands, expresses the agony of her mind, and excites a peculiar sympathy in the beholder.

On the right of the picture, a woman kneeling, holds a sick infant; the complexion of the little sufferer well betokens malady, and in an easy posture, it reclines its head on the bosom of the mother, who is well described as a Jewess by her countenance. Above her, is a young girl blind, with a bandage of linen around her head, which, with the hectic flush upon her cheek, denote an inflammation of the brain; the artist has been very happy in this, but the father, though a fine head, expresses in the countenance too little earnestness for the occasion. The old woman next him must strike all as an exact representative of character within their recollection. In

the back ground stand the High Priest and Pharisees, whose dark visages allegorically portray the gloomy malice of their hearts. One of these, calling the attention of the other to his discourse, conveys a very natural idea of doubt and detraction.

In the distant perspective are seen the women who sold doves in the temple, hastening away, after the rebuke they had received, on our Lord's entrance into the "house of prayer." One of the candelabras of the holy temple is above them.

Such is the general outline of this grand picture—a *chef d'œuvre* of one whose fertility of genius in composition, profound skill in design and arrangement, with excellence in all that constitutes the painter's art, have combined to produce an inimitable work for our study and gratification. No subject of the canvas could be more appropriate for a hospital, none better calculated to excite a religious emotion,* to recal serious reflection, and to exhibit a ground of faith. The feelings of that man are not to be envied, whose piety would not grow warm in meditation upon the scene.

The artist may perhaps discover that the horizontal line of heads might have given way to a more angular arrangement, by altering the distribution of the scene, and chiefly the station of our Saviour as the key stone of the arch; but nature, (to follow which, is never to do amiss,) warrants a level range in crowds as well as any other. It is difficult to do full justice to a composition of between fifty and sixty figures, occupying an area of about one hundred and sixty square feet. Of every large composition, even of those which are most admired, a great part may be truly said to be common place; it was with this impression that Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his lectures from the very chair now so honorably filled by Mr. West, delivered his opinion in relation to minor objects. "It is not," says he, "the eye, it is the mind which the painter of genius desires to address, nor will he waste a moment upon those smaller objects which only serve to catch the sense, to divide the attention, and to counteract his great design of speaking to the heart."

It is not our intention to enter upon an analysis of the technical properties of this painting—suffice it to observe, that a want of harmony, of relief, or of judgment in colouring, would be felt, did it exist; and it is for those who view it to pronounce whether in this respect they are disappointed. Had such been the case, it is not likely that the vigilance of the painter would have been lulled, or the sensibility of his friends have been blind to its defects, prior to completion. We leave those who have studied the great productions of the celebrated masters, Raffaele, Vandyke, Titian, Michael

* A detail of the impressions produced upon the minds of the unfortunate persons under care in the Pennsylvania hospital for insanity, on their being admitted to view the picture, might be curious, and, perhaps instructive. One of these, a Mr. Nisbet, of respectable connexions, not without talent, and (as our readers will perceive by a specimen inserted) some poetic vein, we understand entered deeply into the interest of the occasion. The person of Jesus first arrested his notice, at which he was greatly moved, and asked, "is this our new Doctor come? Can he administer to the soul diseased?" Of Judas Iscariot, he observed, "he was not to be trusted, I never liked the man, and it is long since I broke with him."

Angelo, Corregio, and Parmegiano, to draw their own conclusions, founded on just inferences, arising from an attentive study of their distinguishing excellencies. To institute a comparison, where so little opportunity can be enjoyed of examining or refuting positions drawn from objects inaccessible to the majority of our population, would be scarcely compatible with candour and impartiality. On the grand merits of Mr. West there can be but one opinion,—on his relative rank with the defunct, it is for masters to decide. His honour among the living stands confessed by his station. Competent judges have pronounced the verdict of his fame, and we read it in his works. Its stability is sufficient to evince, that it has not been suspended upon the slender thread of fashion and caprice, but bound to the human heart by every principle of sympathetic tie.

We consider this an Epoch in the arts of our country, the era of the dawn of a rising genius, animated and encouraged by the successful example of a WEST; as such, it was creditable to the judgment and feelings of congress to pass a bill for the remission of the duties on the importation of this celebrated painting, and doubly so, considering the object to which it was to be applied. Mr. Newton, (of Virginia) in the House of Representatives, introduced this subject with his wonted taste and discernment.

The object of the bill, he observed, was to remit to the Pennsylvania Hospital the duties on a painting entitled "Christ in the temple healing the sick" presented to that institution by Benjamin West. The British government, with a liberality and promptitude that does honour to it, remitted every charge incident to the exportation. The receipt of it in this country would, Mr. N. observed, he trusted, be met by this government in a spirit not less gracious and liberal. The munificence of this celebrated artist, a munificence, the exercise of which belongs only to genius of a superior order and of extensive acquirements, would, he hoped, be acknowledged in such a manner as to manifest the sense this government entertains of the respect shown by him for this nation. The painting, Mr. N. added, is considered as the *chef d'œuvre* of his pencil. The present is designed as a memento of the love that illustrious man bears to his native land. It is also highly complimentary to the taste and judgment of this nation. The painting moreover reflects honour on this country, and extends its fame, as it is the production of an American.

In order that our readers may be enabled to estimate the value of this painting, we are enabled to state, from the first authority* that Mr. West was offered in London the sum of 3000 guineas for permission to exhibit it during a given period in New York, Boston, and Baltimore, after which, to deliver it uninjured into the possession of the managers of the Pennsylvania hospital, but this pro-

* The highly respected President of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Samuel Coates esqr. This truly benevolent character has borne an active part in the affairs of the hospital, as manager, for the last thirty-two years, during a great portion of which he has devoted nearly his whole time and attention to it.

posal Mr. West altogether declined, considering it a sacred observance to transmit this affectionate memorial direct, to be applied exclusively to purposes of charity.

"Thou shalt open thy hand wide to thy poor, and to thy needy in thy land."
Deuteronomy c. xv. v. xi.

We owe it to the favour of the worthy president of the hospital, to be enabled to announce the earliest returns of the exhibition, so far as the same could be made up—a document, we believe, that will prove highly interesting to many of our readers.

The following are the most remarkable days:

| | | | |
|---------------|---|--------------|--------|
| 1817. | | | |
| 3d. November. | First day of exhibition, | 513 visitors | 128 24 |
| 20 - - - | Fast day observed in the state of Pennsylvania in consequence of a proclamation of governor Snyder to that effect | 749 ——— | 187 29 |
| 25 - - - | Christmas day in the morning | 110 | |
| | in the afternoon | 563 | |
| 1818. | | 673 | 168 23 |
| 1st January. | New year's day | 589 ——— | 147 25 |

GENERAL SUMMARY.

1817.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Total number of visitors in November | 8030 ——— | 2007 62 |
| - - - - - December | 4128 ——— | 1031 73 |

1818.

| | | |
|---------------------|----------|--------|
| - - - - - † January | 2827 ——— | 706 25 |
|---------------------|----------|--------|

| | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------|
| In three months there were, | Visitors 14985 producing | 3745 60 |
| 28 tickets sold, entitling to life admission, at ten dollars each | - - - - - | 280 00 |

Total receipts in three months \$ 4025 60

† It should be remarked that the weather was most inclement in January, which, coupled with short days, and long distance to the hospital, are considerations to be weighed with this return. It is a rule with connoisseurs to view such paintings only by sunshine.

ART. VI.—*On the Utility of Fine Arts, in relation to the literary, scientific, and commercial character of a people:* extracted from a discourse, delivered on the opening of the Liverpool Institution 25th November 1817, by William Roscoe, Esq.

NOR is it alone to the emotions of gratitude and the sense of religion, that we are to attribute the expansion of those feelings which are expressed in works of literature and art. Whatever forcibly interests the affections of man, may be esteemed a concurrent cause of the efforts which he makes to communicate to another his own peculiar impressions. To sublime feelings, we may in all ages attribute the most affecting and refined productions of the human intellect.

The intimate connexion which subsists between literature and the arts, is in no instance more apparent than in their common origin, and the certainty with which they may be referred to the same principles of human nature. Those emotions of admiration, of gratitude or of love, which call forth from one the spontaneous effusions of warm and energetic language, excite in another person the desire of perpetuating the resemblance of the object of his affection, or of recalling to memory those scenes which had afforded him so much pleasure. Whilst the poet celebrates in elevated language the deeds of his hero, the painter animates his canvas with the same subject, and whilst the former relates to us an impassioned narrative, the latter brings the transaction immediately before our eyes. The course of improvement thus begun is encouraged by applause, and excited to a still higher pitch by emulation; till at length not only individuals but nations become distinguished by their superior proficiency in these pursuits.

A state of general tranquillity, and a government which admits of the free exertions of the mind are indispensibly necessary to intellectual improvement. But these are only negative advantages. Though the blossoms may escape the blight and the mildew, yet warm suns and timely showers are requisite before they can expand, and ripen their fruit. It would, in fact, be in vain to expect that the arts and sciences should flourish, to their full extent, in any country where they were not preceded, or accompanied, by a certain degree of stability, wealth and competency; so as to enable its inhabitants occasionally to withdraw their attention from the more laborious occupations of life, and devote it to speculative inquiries and the pleasures derived from works of art. Whenever any state has attained this enviable pre-eminence and enjoys also the blessings of civil and political liberty, letters and arts are introduced—not indeed as a positive convention of any people, but as a natural and unavoidable result. Nor has the cultivation of these studies been injurious to the prosperity, the morals, or the character of a people. On the contrary they have usually exhibited a reaction highly favourable to the country where they have been cherished; not only by opening new sources of wealth and exertion, but by exalting the views, purifying the moral taste, enlarging the intellectual and even the physical powers of the human race, and

conferring on the nation where they have once flourished a rank and a distinction in the annals of mankind, the most honourable and the most durable that can be attained.

Nor are the arts connected with design—as painting, sculpture and architecture, to be considered as a drawback on the accumulation of national wealth, or as useless dependants upon the bounty of a country. On the contrary, wherever they have been encouraged, they have contributed in an eminent degree not only to honour, but to enrich the state. How shall we estimate the influx of wealth into the cities of Italy in the sixteenth century, or into Holland and the Low Countries in the seventeenth, as a compensation for those works of art which, though highly prized on their first appearance, have continued to increase in value to the present day, and form at this time no inconsiderable portion of the permanent riches of Europe? See the productions of their artists sought after by the principal sovereigns and most distinguished characters of the times, who were proud to be represented by their pencils! and ask whether the remuneration conferred on their labours was exceeded by the profits obtained by single and individual exertions in any other department. If it be conceded that the person who can produce an article of the greatest value from the least material bears the prize from his competitors, who can compare with the painter? who with a few colours and a sheet of coarse canvas, may, if endowed with the genius of a WEST, produce, even in the present day, a work that shall be considered as inadequately recompensed by a sum of three thousand guineas; and that, at the same time, gratifies the taste, improves the moral sentiment, and confers honour on the artist and on the country of his birth.

I trust then it will be clearly understood, that it is not as a matter of pleasure and gratification merely, or in common acceptation, as an object of luxury, that I thus venture to recommend the cultivation of the fine arts. My purpose is to demonstrate their indispensable utility, and to show that where they are discouraged, no country must expect to obtain its full advantages, even in a lucrative point of view, much less to arrive at a high degree of civilization and prosperity, and to signalize itself in the annals of mankind. Whoever has attended in the slightest degree to this subject must acknowledge how intimately the improvements in manufactures have kept pace with the proficiency made in the arts of design. At the same time there are departments in which the arts have, by their own sole and independant energies, greatly contributed to the wealth and reputation of a country; as in the instance of Engraving.* Nor can a proficiency be made in the lowest de-

* Blest art! whose aid the Painter's skill endears,
And bids his labours live thro' future years;
Breaks that restraint, which to the world unkind,
To some one spot the favourite work confin'd;
Gives to each distant land, each future age,
The features of the warrior, saint, or sage;

partments of these arts, without an acquaintance with the highest. From one source only can the genuine stream be derived—although when once obtained, it may be diffused through innumerable channels.

But I begin to fear that I shall be misunderstood, and that in thus insisting on the direct advantages derived to a country from the cultivation of the fine arts, I shall be accused of treating the subject in a manner unworthy of you and of myself. I shall perhaps be told, that it is only in a commercial or manufacturing place that an idea could have occurred of seizing upon those arts, whose province it is to delight the imagination and to elevate the mind, and of chaining them down to labour in the dull round of pecuniary profit. My exculpation is very brief. If these arts are cultivated at all, the result which I have stated is unavoidable. If you will protect the arts, the arts will, and ought to remunerate you. To suppose that they are to be encouraged upon some abstract and disinterested plan, from which all idea of utility shall be excluded, is to suppose that a building can be erected without a foundation. There is not a greater error, than to think that the arts can subsist upon the generosity of the public. They are willing to repay whatever is devoted to their advantage; but they will not become slaves. If, in the infancy of their progress, some assistance should be requisite, such a necessity cannot long exist. The arts can only flourish where they command. Till an artist can produce a work of such merit, as to induce some individual to prefer it to its value in money, he ought not to expect a reward. It is a bounty and a degradation; and in its effects tends to mislead, and not to encourage the art. What should we think of giving a premium to the author of a worthless poem, by way of encouraging poetry? And yet it is generally from this class, both in arts and literature, that the complaints of the want of public patronage proceed. It was not thus with the great masters of former times. I speak not of those whose productions, stand on the summit of art, which add to their intrinsic value the incidental merit of rarity, and are, when met with, estimated beyond gold and gems—of a Raffaele or a Lionardo da Vinci—I allude only to those whose works are numerous and well known—a Titian—a Guido—a Rubens—a Rembrandt—a Vandyke, and a long train of other eminent artists in Italy, in Flanders, and even in France, who dispensed a favour as often as they finished a picture, and by upholding the dignity established the utility of the art.

The grace that seems with beauty's queen to vie;
The mild suffusion of the languid eye;
Till with the Painter's proudest works at strife,
The fragile paper seems to glow with life!

Fragment of a MS. Poem on Engraving.

ART. VII.—Correspondence of Paul Jones.

THE readers of this work will find on reference to the 8th volume of our series, a biography of this extraordinary character given at considerable length, and allusion made to certain letters which passed, soon after his descent upon the coast of Scotland, in 1778, between him and Lady Selkirk, respecting a transaction in which he was involved, with a view to carry off her husband, the Earl, from his house on St. Mary's Isle, in order to detain him as a hostage until terms should be agreed upon between Great Britain and America. We have now a copy of these letters, in a recent *Edinburgh Magazine*, with some others, relative to this daring captain, particularly one of Dr. Franklin, and another of the celebrated Polish patriot Kosciusko, as also one from the empress of Russia, which never before appeared in print.

The two letters of Jones were inserted in the newspapers at the time, but not in any durable or accessible Repository.

The name of Paul Jones is remembered with terror at this day along the Scottish coasts. He was the son of a small farmer, a few miles from Dumfries (Scotland;) and, impelled by that love of enterprize which is so frequently to be met with amongst the peasantry of that country, eagerly embarked in the cause of the colonies against the mother country. Whether he was actuated by a sense of the injustice of Britain towards America, at the outset of his career, or a hope of availing himself of the opportunities in which revolutionary warfare so greatly abounds to rise from his original obscurity, it is now perhaps impossible to determine, and unnecessary to inquire. But, it will be seen from the following letters, that, in the progress of his adventurous life, he was well inspired with the language that flows from a mind enthusiastic in the cause of liberty; and that he was honoured by some of its warmest friends in both hemisphere. It is impossible not to admire the kind and gentle feelings that influenced his conduct towards Lady Selkirk, so opposite to the character he was represented to be, and the very handsome manner in which he repaired the injury entailed by the policy adopted for securing the person of the Earl. There are probably few instances, especially among adventurers who have risen from the condition in which Paul Jones was originally placed,—of more enlarged views—more generous feelings,—and a more disinterested conduct, than these letters exhibit, combined as they are with sentiments of relentless hostility towards the claims of his native country. Such a picture, of which the view is at all times refreshing, ought to be held up to the eyes of those who are now engaged in similar struggles on an adjacent theatre. Good policy, in the absence of higher motives, may induce those who direct and regulate the movements of revolutionary warfare, as well as those who are impelled by the storm, to atone, in some measure, by acts of forbearance and generosity, for the injuries to which the helpless and the innocent are peculiarly exposed in the infuriate contests between a people and their rulers.

In the progress of the revolutionary war, Paul Jones obtained the command of a squadron, with which, in 1778, he undertook to annoy the coasts of Great Britain. On the 2d December, 1777, he arrived at Nantes, and in January repaired to Paris, with the view of making arrangements with the American ministers and the French government. In February he convoyed some American vessels to the Bay of Quiberon; and, on his return to Brest, communicated his plan to Admiral D'Aruilliers, who afforded him every means of forwarding it. He accordingly left Brest, and sailed through the Bristol Channel, without giving any alarm. Early in the morning of the 23d April he made an attack on the harbour of Whitehaven, in which there were about 400 sail. He succeeded in setting fire to several vessels, but was not able to effect any thing decisive before day-light, when he was obliged to retire.

The next transaction which took place on the same day, was the invasion of St. Mary's Isle, near the town of Kirkcudbright, where Lord Selkirk's house is situated. The particulars of this event, and of the action which succeeded, as well as the motives upon which Jones acted, are well given in the following letter, which he addressed to Lady Selkirk:

Ranger, Brest, 8th May 1778.

MADAM,—It cannot be too much lamented, that in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feeling, and of real sensibility, should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command which his heart cannot approve; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such action by his authority.

This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's interest with his king, and esteeming, *as I do*, his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war. It was perhaps, fortunate for you, Madam, that he was from home, for it was my intention to have taken him on board the *Ranger*, and to have detained him until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected.

When I was informed by some men whom I met at landing, that his lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers who were with me could not forbear expressing their discontent, observing, that, in America, no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of moveable property, setting fire not only to towns and to the houses of the rich without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milch cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me as volunteers the same morning at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your ladyship the least injury. I charged the two officers to permit none of the sea-

men to enter the house, or to hurt any thing about it; to treat you, Madam, with the utmost respect; to accept of the plate which was offered and to come away without making a search, or demanding any thing else. I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed, since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men; and, when the plate is sold, I shall become the purchaser, and will *gratify my own feelings*, by restoring it to you by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

Had the earl been on board the *Ranger* the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea engagement; both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back at such scenes of horror, and cannot but execrate the vile promoters of this detested war,

For *they*, 'twas *they*, unsheathed the ruthless blade,
And heaven shall ask the havock it has made.

The British ship of war *Drake*, mounting 20 guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, besides a number of volunteers, came out from Carrickfergus, in order to attack and take the American continental ship of war *Ranger*, of 18 guns, and short of her complement of officers and men. The ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side for an hour and five minutes, when the gallant commander of the *Drake* fell, and victory declared in favour of the *Ranger*. His amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded.

A melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects,—I buried them in the spacious grave, with the honours due to the memory of the brave.

Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms merely as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot insure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart, and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war began, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from the sea-service, in favour of “calm contemplation and poetic ease.” I have sacrificed, not only my favourite scheme of life, *but the softer affections of the heart*, and my prospects of domestic happiness; and I am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture would restore peace and goodwill among mankind.

As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot, in that respect, but be congenial with mine, let me intreat you, madam, to use your soft persuasive arts with your husband, to endeavour to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which Britain never can succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practi-

ces of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated in Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this, (for I am persuaded, that you will attempt it, and who can resist the power of such an advocate?) your endeavours to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity, which will afford you golden feelings on a death-bed.

I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed,—but, should it continue,—I wage no war with the fair!—I acknowledge their power, and bend before it with profound submission! Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy,—I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing consistent with my duty to merit it.

The honour of a line from your hand, in answer to this, will lay me under a very singular obligation; and, if I can render you any acceptable service, in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far, as to command me without the least grain of reserve. I wish to know exactly the behaviour of my people, as I determine to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty.

I have the honour to be, with much esteem, and with profound respect, madam, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

(Signed)

PAUL JONES.

*To the Right Honourable the Countess of
Selkirk, St. Mary's Isle, Scotland.*

The correctness of the facts here stated is confirmed by the following account given at the time in the Scots Magazine.

“Between ten and eleven, a servant brought word, that a press-gang had landed near the house. This the party from the privateer had given out, in order, as was supposed, to get out of the way all the servants and others who might oppose them. Presently between thirty and forty armed men came up; all of whom planted themselves round the house, except three, who entered, each with two horse-pistols at his side; and, with bayonets fixed, they demanded to see the lady of the house; and, upon her appearing, told her, with a mixture of rudeness and civility, who they were, and that all the plate must be delivered to them. Lady Selkirk behaved with great composure and presence of mind. She soon directed her plate to be delivered; with which, without doing any other damage, or asking for watches, jewels, or any thing else, (which is odd,) the gentlemen made off. There is reason to think that there were some people among them acquainted with persons and places, and, in particular, one fellow, supposed to have been once a waiter at an inn in Kirkcudbright. The leader of the party, who was not the captain of the vessel, told, that their intention was to seize Lord Selkirk, who is now in London.”

It appears, accordingly, that Paul Jones actually purchased the plate, and embraced the first opportunity, after peace, to transmit it to Lord Selkirk, accompanied by the following letter:

Paris, February 12, 1784.

My LORD,

I have just received a letter from Mr. Nesbitt, dated at L'Orient the 4th instant, mentioning a letter to him from your son, Lord Daer, on the subject of the plate that was taken from your house by some of my people, when I commanded the *Ranger*, and has been for a long time past in Mr. Nesbitt's care. A short time before I left France to return to America, Mr. W. Alexander wrote me from Paris to L'Orient, that he had, at my request, seen and conversed with your Lordship in England respecting the plate. He said you had agreed that I should restore it, and that it might be forwarded to the care of your sister-in law, the Countess of Morton, in London. In consequence, I now send orders to Mr. Nesbitt to forward the plate immediately to her care. When I received Mr. Alexander's letter, there was no cartel or other vessel at L'Orient that I could trust with a charge of so delicate a nature as your plate; and I had great reason to expect I should have returned to France within six months after I embarked for America. But circumstances in America prevented my returning to Europe during the war, though I had constant expectation of it.

The long delay that has happened to the restoration of your plate has given me much concern, and I now feel a proportionate pleasure in fulfilling what was my first intention. My motive for landing at your estate in Scotland was to take *you* as an hostage for the lives and liberty of a number of the citizens of America, who had been taken in war on the ocean, and committed to British prisons under an act of Parliament, as "*traitors, pirates, and felons.*" You observed to Mr. Alexander, that my idea was a mistaken one, because you were not (as I had supposed) in favour with the British ministry, who knew that you favoured the cause of liberty. On that account, I am glad that you were absent from your estate when I landed there, as I bore no personal emity, but the contrary, towards you. I afterwards had the happiness to redeem my fellow citizens from Britain, by means far more glorious than through the medium of any single hostage.

As I have endeavoured to serve the cause of liberty through every stage of the American revolution, and sacrificed to it my private ease, a part of my fortune, and some of my blood, I could have no selfish motive in permitting my people to demand and carry off your plate. My sole inducement was to turn their attention and stop their rage from breaking out, and retaliating on your house and effects the too wanton burnings and desolation that had been committed against their relations and fellow citizens in America by the British; of which, I assure you, you would have felt the severe consequence, had I not fallen on an expedient to prevent it, and hurried my people away before they had time for further reflection. As you were so obliging as to say to Mr. Alexander, that my people behaved with great decency at your house, I ask the favour of you to announce that circumstance to the public. I

am, my Lord, wishing you always perfect freedom and happiness,
your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed)

PAUL JONES.

*To the Right Honourable the Earl of
Selkirk, in Scotland.*

After his combat with the *Drake*, Paul Jones sailed round the north of Scotland, and, on the 5th of September, was seen off Lerwick. He did no damage, however, to the poor inhabitants. He then proceeded along the east coast of Scotland. In the middle of September he sailed up the Firth of Forth, and on the 17th was seen nearly opposite to Leith, below the island of Inchkeith. A violent south-west wind, however, having arisen, drove his squadron so rapidly down the Firth, as to be soon out of sight. He had taken and stripped a few prizes. He sailed next to the Texel, into which he carried, as prizes, two British vessels of war, the *Serapis*, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, which, after an obstinate engagement, he had captured near Flamborough Head. On this occasion, the British minister made urgent demands that the prizes, as well as Paul Jones himself, and his squadron, should be delivered up to his government. The Dutch, however, on the 25th October, came to this resolution: "That they could not pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of those who had taken, on the open sea, vessels not belonging to themselves; that they had merely given them shelter from storms, and would oblige them to put to sea, so that the British might themselves have an opportunity of taking them." To this resolution they adhered, notwithstanding the warmest remonstrances of the British minister.

During the course of Jones's stay at the Texel, he addressed the following letters to the Dutch Admiral, Baron Vander Capellen.

On board the Serapis at the Texel Oct. 19, 1779.

MY LORD,—Human nature, and America, are under very singular obligations to you for your patriotism and friendship; and I feel every grateful sentiment for your generous and polite letter.

Agreeable to your request, I have the honour to inclose a copy of my letter to his Excellency Dr. Franklin, containing a particular account of my late expedition on the coasts of Britain and Ireland; by which you will see that I have already been praised more than I have deserved. But I must, at the same time, beg leave to observe, that, by the other papers which I take the liberty to inclose, (particularly the copy of my letter to the Countess of Selkirk, dated the day of my arrival at Brest from the Irish sea,) I hope you will be convinced that in the British prints I have been censured unjustly. I was indeed born in Britain, but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives; they are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards of the man who draws his sword only in support of the dignity of freedom.

America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honour to hoist, with my own hands, the flag of freedom the first time it was displayed on the Delaware; and I have attended it with veneration ever since, on the ocean. I see it respected even here in spite of the pitiful Sir Joseph (Yorke;) and I ardently wish and hope very soon to exchange a salute with the flag of this republic. Let but the two republics join hands, and they will give peace to the world.

Highly ambitious to render myself worthy of your friendship, I have the honour to be, my lord, your very obliged and most humble servant.

On board the Alliance at the Texel Nov. 29, 1779.

MY LORD,—Since I had the honour to receive your second esteemed letter, I have unexpectedly had occasion to revisit Amsterdam; and having changed ships since my return to the Texel, I have, by some accident or neglect, lost or mislaid your letter. I remember, however, the questions it contained; viz. 1st, Whether I ever had any obligation to Lord Selkirk? 2d, Whether he accepted my offer? and 3d, Whether I have a French commission? I answer, I never had any obligation to Lord Selkirk, except for his good opinion; nor does he know me or mine, except by character. Lord Selkirk wrote me an answer to my letter to the Countess, but the ministry detained it in the general post-office in London for a long time, and then returned it to the author, who afterwards wrote to a friend of his, (Mr. Alexander,) an acquaintance of Dr. Franklin's, then at Paris, giving him an account of the fate of his letter to me, and desiring him to acquaint his Excellency and myself, that "if the plate was restored by Congress, or by any public body, he would accept it, but that he could not think of accepting it from my private generosity." The plate has, however, been bought, agreeable to my letter to the Countess, and now lays in France at her disposal. As to the third article, I never bore, nor acted under any other commission than what I have received from the Congress of the United States of America.

I am much obliged to you, my Lord, for the honour you do me by proposing to publish the papers I sent you in my last; but it is an honour which I must decline, because I cannot publish my letter to that Lady without asking and obtaining the Lady's consent, and because I have a very modest opinion of my writings, being conscious that they are not of sufficient value to claim the notice of the public. I assure you, my Lord, it has given me much concern to see an extract of my rough journal in print, and that too under the disadvantage of a translation. That mistaken kindness of a friend will make me cautious how I communicate my papers. I have the honour to be, my Lord, with great esteem and respect, &c. &c.

Paul Jones continued in the American service during the remainder of the war, and, on the 14th April, 1781, the Congress voted to him an address of thanks, and presented him with a gold medal. At the peace of 1783, it was agreed that Jones should re-

turn some of the prizes taken during the war, but should receive a pecuniary indemnification. To arrange this transaction, he sailed for France, and arrived at Paris, where he was received with great cordiality. In the course of his residence there, he received the following letter from Dr. Franklin:

Havre, July 21, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—The offer, of which you desire I would give you the particulars, was made to me by Mr. Le Baron de Walterstorff, in behalf of his Majesty the King of Denmark, by whose ministers he said he was authorized to make it. It was to give us the sum of ten thousand pounds Sterling, as a compensation for having delivered up the prizes to the English. I did not accept it, conceiving it much too small a sum, they having been valued to me at fifty thousand pounds. I wrote to Mr. Hodgson, an insurer in London, requesting he would procure information of the sums insured on those Canada ships. His answer was, that he could find no traces of such insurance; and he believed none was made; for that the Government, on whose account they were said to be loaded with military stores, never insured; but by the best judgment he could make, he thought they might be worth about sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds each. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Hon. Paul Jones, Esq.

We have also in our possession an original card of invitation to dinner from La Fayette, which shows the esteem in which he was held by that eminent character. He was satisfied as to his claims, and returned to America. But, in 1788, we find him offering his services to the Empress Catherine, by whom they were readily accepted. The following is the copy of a letter addressed to him by her Imperial Majesty upon this occasion:

Copy of a letter from her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias to Commodore Paul Jones.

Commodore Paul Jones;

A messenger from Paris, has just brought me, from my envoy in France, M. de Simolin, the enclosed letter to Count de Besborodka. As I think that this letter may contribute to confirm the truth of what I have verbally expressed to you, I transmit it to you, and beg of you to return it to me, because I have not caused a copy to be taken of it, having so much hastened to let it reach you forthwith. I hope it will efface all doubt on your mind, and that it will prove to you that you are about to be concerned under one who is very favourably disposed towards you. I entertain a confidence that, on your part, you will perfectly justify the high opinion we have of you, and that you will apply yourself zealously to maintain the reputation and high name, which your valour, and well known skill on the element on which you are about to serve, have acquired for you. Adieu.—I wish you health and happiness.

(Signed)

CATHERINE.

At Czarskocelo, 11th May 1788.

What were the circumstances which disgusted Jones with the service of her Imperial Majesty, we have not yet been able to learn; but it appears that, in 1790, he was engaged in a negotiation for entering into the Swedish service. This appears from the following very curious document, an original letter from Kosciuszko, addressed to "The Honourable Vice Admiral Paul Jones, Amsterdam," written more politely than elegantly in English:

Warsaw, 15th Feb. 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,—I HAD the honour to write you the 1st or the 3th of Feb. I do not recollect, but I gave you the information to apply to the Minister of Sweden at Hague, or at Amsterdam for the propositions, (according to what Mr. D'Engestrom told me.) They Boths had Order to Communicate you. I wish with all my heart that could ensner your expectation. I am totally ignorant what they are, but I would see you to fight against the oppresion and Tyranny. Give me the news of every thing. I am, dear Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

T. KOSCIUSZKO. G. M.

Write me if you please who is Minister from America at Paris; I want to know his name.

This negotiation does not seem to have succeeded; and Jones in vain solicited employment from France. He died at Paris, in 1792, in great poverty. Colonel Blackden was obliged to raise a subscription to defray the expenses of his funeral. The National Assembly voted a deputation of their members to attend upon that occasion.

ART. VIII.—*Upon the Proper Manner and Usefulness of Translations.* By Madame la Baronne de Stael Holstein.—(From the Edinburgh Magazine.)

[THE following essay was among the last productions of the late madame de Stael. She made a present of her MS. to the editors of an Italian journal, who published it in their own language, and from whose pages I extract it—'Questo articolo, say they, e'della celebre baronessa di Stael. La sua Gentilezza si e compiaciuta de farne dono ed onore alla Biblioteca nostra e noi, nel dare la traduzione del nobile suo discorso, intendiamo di far cosa grata ad ogni lettore, e di render publica la nostra riconoscenza.'

Ed. Edin. Mag.]

TO translate from one language into another the excellent productions of human genius, is the greatest benefit which can be conferred on the world of letters; for perfect works are so few, and invention is so rare, that were every nation to content itself with its own products, there is no nation in Europe which would not deserve to be called poor. There is no commerce in which the risk is so small, and the profit so great, as in the commerce of thoughts.

In the age of the restoration of letters, both the learned and the poets agreed to make use of no language but the Latin, that so they might have the advantage of being universally understood without the necessity of translations: and undoubtedly this idea was a

very excellent one, so far as the sciences were concerned, for solid information can very well be communicated without the graces of style. But even here the consequences were extremely hurtful to the interests of the great body of the people; for these could never derive any benefit from the scientific labours of their countrymen, since the accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue was at all times an accomplishment confined to the few. Moreover, the Latin language was very soon corrupted, in consequence of the uses to which it was thus applied; for the improvements of science were perpetually calling for the creation of new words, and the learned very soon found that the language of which they were making use was *dead*, indeed, but not *ancient*. The poets, on the other hand, had a greater regard for diction; and the consequence of this was, that they very seldom dared to depart either from the words or the phrases of the ancient poets. Italy gave birth to a race of new Romans, whose writings were in their own days considered as of equal merit with those of Virgil and Horace—such as Fracastorius, Politian, and Sannazarius. But now, if the fame of these authors be not entirely exhausted, their works at least have fallen into utter neglect, and are read only by the small number of the learned and the curious; so narrow and short-lived is that fame which is founded only on imitation. These Latin poets were translated into Italian by their countrymen, for it is at all times necessary that the language to which we are accustomed from our cradle, and of which we make use of in all the situations of active life, should be preferred by us to that which we are taught by masters, and meet with only in books.

I am well aware, that the best means to be independent of translations would be to acquire all the languages in which the great poets have written—Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, English, and German. But then what labour, what leisure, what assistance does this require! Who can hope that such erudition should ever become universal? and universal improvement must ever be the chief object of every one who is a well-wisher of mankind. I will say more:—even although one should have a very sufficient knowledge of foreign languages, when he takes up a good translation of a foreign poet into his own tongue, he will receive a pleasure yet more intimate and domestic than any which he has previously received from these writings, in the contemplation of those new colours and ornaments which his vernacular tongue is receiving from the appropriation of beauties to which it had in former times been a stranger. When the men of letters of any country are observed to be all and often guilty of repeating the same thoughts, the same sentiments, and the same phrases, it is a clear sign that the soil is impoverished: the best method of enriching it is, to translate the illustrious poets of other nations.

In the work of translating, if we would have our labour to be really profitable to our countrymen, we shall above all things be careful to avoid the besetting sin of French translators—that of writing in such a manner as to obliterate all traces of the origin of

that which we translate. He who turned every thing he touched into gold was very soon reduced to starvation. Such a method of translation deprives intellect of the nourishment which it ought to receive; that which is imported from abroad still wears the features to which we are accustomed, and we have gained little by adding to the stock of our home productions. The error of the French translators admits indeed of many apologies; with them versification is difficult, and rhymes are rare; they have no variety of measures, no facilities of inversion. The poor poet is shut up within so narrow a circle, that he is perpetually under the necessity of recurring, if not to the same thoughts, at least to similar hemistichs. The structure of French verse assumes naturally a wearisome monotony; and if this fault may sometimes be avoided; that must always be in the free and unfettered exertions of original genius. In translations where every argument is pre-arranged, and every stroke of feeling has to be copied, there is no room for inspiration of a character so victorious and so sublime.

The French, accordingly, have scarcely any such thing as good poetical translations, except those of Virgil by the abbe de Lille. Our translators are indeed very excellent imitators; they transform whatever they meet with abroad into good French, with so much success, that no one would ever suspect their productions of being any thing else than the original writings of Frenchmen. We have, however, no poetical translation which is at once excellent in French, and stamped with the character of its origin; I believe that it is impossible we shall ever have any such translations. If indeed we with reason admire the Virgil of De Lille, the reason of his unequalled success must be sought for in the resemblance which our language still preserves to the Latin, from which it is descended, and the felicity with which it can still imitate the pomp and majesty of its original. The modern languages, on the other hand, are all so different from ours, that we cannot imitate them closely without sacrificing the greater part of those graces which are peculiar to our own.

The English, who enjoy a much greater liberty of versification, as well as of inversion, might have easily become rich in translations at once exact and natural. But the great authors of their nation have been too proud to stoop to the fatigue of translation; and although Pope (the only exception) has formed two beautiful poems from the Iliad and the Odyssey, he has certainly retained not one point of that antique simplicity in which we feel the secret power and charm of the style of Homer.

It is not probable, that for three thousand years the world has never produced any poet of genius equal to that of Homer. But in the traditions, in the customs, in the opinions, in the whole appearance of the Homeric age, there is preserved a certain charm of primitive simplicity, which affords us an inexhaustible delight. In reading Homer we are carried back to the youth of man, to the beginning of ages, and our minds are perpetually agitated with a pleasing remembrance of the feelings and thoughts of our own

early years; and this internal commotion, mingled as it is with the images of a golden age, renders it necessary that the most ancient should at all times be the most favourite of poets. If we remove from the Homeric composition this simplicity of an infant world, it loses that quality which is its most peculiar characteristic, and sinks more into a level with the productions of after-times.

It is a very favourite notion among the scholars of Germany, that the Homeric works were not composed by one individual; that the Iliad and the Odyssey are a collection of separate many poems, in which Grecian genius had celebrated the capture of Troy, and the return of its conquerors. It appears to me that it is no very difficult matter to refute this opinion, and that the unity of the plan of the Iliad renders altogether absurd the supposition that that poem was composed at different times and by different persons. Why should the wrath of Achilles have been the perpetual theme of the poets? The incidents which occurred in the sequel,—above all, the capture of the city itself, which brought about the conclusion of the war—could scarcely have failed to be the subject of some of those *rhapsodies*, had these been the works of different authors, and to have formed a part of any poem which was intended to be a compend of all that had been composed by the best of the Greek poets concerning the fate of Troy. To select one only out of so many remarkable events, and to arrange, in subordination to this, all the other accidents which fill up the Iliad; seems to be evidently the design of one master-spirit, who was not likely to intrust into other hands the execution of his plan. I mean not to enter into any regular dispute on this subject; to do that would require an erudition to which I make no pretensions: all I shall say is, that if any other poets contributed to the Iliad, they must have been of the same age with Homer himself. It would be easier to persuade me that it was composed by different hands under the direction of one chief, than that any spirit of an after age could have caught the true tone of times and manners so widely differing from his own.*

But if the Germans have, on the one hand, done all in their power to deny the personal existence of Homer, they have in so far at least atoned for this insult, by the labours which they have bestowed on the Homeric writings. The translation of Voss is reputed by his countrymen to bear more resemblance to the original than any version which exists in any other language. He alone, say they, has made use of the Homeric measure, and his German hexameters follow word for word the hexameters of the Greek original. I am very willing to believe that such a method of translation may be the most effectual way of introducing the reader to a precise knowledge of the structure of the ancient poem; but I have great doubts whether a writer capable of following such a plan in his

* We hope very soon to lay before our readers a full account of the argument on both sides of this Homeric controversy. The opinions, as well as the reasons of madame de Stael, are just what might have been expected from a believer in Ossian.
E.

translation, can be a likely person to transfuse into his native language that soul of poetry which can never be either taught by rules or acquired by study. His syllables may be the same in number with those of Homer,—but how can the harmony of his sounds be the same? The German poetry may indeed lose much of its natural sound by so strict a copying of the Greek, but it is altogether impossible that it should ever represent the unrivalled music of that ancient verse, which was originally intended for the accompaniment of the lyre.

Among the modern languages of Europe, the Italian is certainly the best adapted for expressing all the varied sentiments and passions of the Greek Homer. It possesses not indeed the Homeric measure, but in truth nothing worthy of the name of hexameter verse can possibly exist in any modern language, for the whole system of modern versification is founded upon principles with which those of ancient versification have no connexion. Nevertheless the sound of the Italian language may certainly boast of a harmony which has no need of dactyls and spondees: and, in its grammatical construction, it is capable of all the flexibility of the Greek. In the blank verse of Italy, where the impediment of rhyme is absent, the flow of thought may be as free as in prose, and preserve at the same time all the grace and majesty of poetical measure.

Europe has undoubtedly no translation of Homer which approaches so near, both to the strength and the beauty of the original, as that of Monti. This writer has discovered the secret of uniting pomp with simplicity;—the most ordinary transactions of life are elevated to a poetical dignity, by the unaffected grace of his language;—the truth of his painting, and the facility of his style, enable him to bring before us the actions and the men of Homer, without depriving them of that heroic greatness which is the peculiar characteristic of their original age. No Italian will ever in time to come, attempt to translate Homer, for it would be impossible to reconcile Italy to see Homer stript of the clothing in which Monti has invested him. To me it appears certain, that even in the other countries of Europe, such readers as are incapable of perusing Homer in his own language, will both know him best, and enjoy him most, by means of the Italian translation. It is impossible to translate a poet with the same accuracy with which an architect can copy a building; a poem, well translated, should resemble a fine piece of music repeated upon a different instrument. The harmony will lose little of its effect, although the tones be different.

In my opinion, the best thing the Italians could do would be to translate with diligence the great modern poets of England and Germany;—their countrymen have great need to be shown something new, for they are still satisfied with the use of the ancient mythology, and do not perceive how antiquated these fables appear since they have been altogether abandoned by the other nations of Europe. If the intellects of the Italians would not lie inactive,

they should be often directing their attention to the other side of the Alps. I do not wish them to assume foreign fashions, but they should at least know what these are. I do not wish that they should become imitators, but I am anxious that they should get rid of that system of ancient observances, which has been as injurious to their literature, as the set phrases of society among ourselves have been to the natural wit and ease of conversation. But if they might derive much advantage from all sort of poetical translations, there is no doubt that they might gain most of all by translations of dramas. Shakspeare, translated with the most exact resemblance by the masterly pen of Schlegel, has been represented on the theatres of Germany in the same manner that he would have been had he himself been born the countryman of Schiller. The Italians might easily procure as great a benefit for themselves, for the French tragedians approach as near to the Italian as Shakspeare does to the German mode of writing; nor is it possible to doubt as to the effect which *Athalie* would produce, were it represented on the beautiful theatre of Milan, and accompanied in its chorusses by the stupendous music of Italy. It may be objected to all this, that people go to the theatre in Italy, not to hear tragedies, but to see company. I know nothing so likely to darken the intellect of a nation, as the custom of listening for five hours a-day to such things as are called *the words* in an Italian opera. But when Casti composed his comic dramas, and when Metastasio adapted his noble and graceful sentiments to musical accompaniment, their countrymen made no complaint that their diversions were diminished. During the present reign of dulness which characterizes all the private and public assemblies of Italy, he who should succeed in uniting something of instruction with the popular amusements, would deserve to be called a benefactor of his country. He might perhaps infuse something of serious and thoughtful into Italian breasts, and rescue his nation from the reproach of doing nothing.

At the present time, in the Italian literature, there is one class of writers who do nothing but dig among the ashes of the dead in the hope of finding here and there a grain of gold;* and another, of writers who have no other capital than a great confidence in the harmony of their language, and do every thing they can to exhaust the patience of their readers, by a repetition of fine sounds destitute of meaning, declamations, invocations, and exclamations, to which our hearts are always shut, because we can perceive that they do not proceed from the heart of those who utter them. Is it a thing beyond all hope, that a desire of being applauded on the stage shall ere long conduct Italian spirits to that which is the on-

* Madame de Stael seems here to have had in her view a noble passage of Cowley:

‘Why call up ghosts? why idly stand
To search, with vain divining wand
Among the dwellings of the dead,
For treasures buried——
While yet the liberal earth doth hold
So many virgin mines of undiscovered gold?’

ly source of invention—meditation,—and to that truth, in conceptions and in language, without which there can be no such thing as a good literature,—the want of which is sufficient to render useless all the other elements of which a good literature must be composed? The drama is a favourite amusement in Italy; it is to be hoped that it would not become less so were it to acquire a character of greater seriousness and usefulness. At the same time, I am very far from wishing to see banished from the Italian stage, that spirit of wit and mirth which once enlivened it. All good things ought to be on good terms with each other.

The taste of the Italians, in the arts, is simple and noble. Now, language is one of the fine arts, and ought to have the same qualities with the others. It is indeed an art of more intrinsic importance than any other to the essence of man; for we can do much better without pictures, statues, and monuments than without those images and feelings to which pictures, statues, and monuments are consecrated. The Italians admire and love their own language in the highest degree; they may well do so, for it has been ennobled by writers of the highest genius; and the Italian nation has never had any glory or any pleasure except what has been derived from the exertions of its genius. An individual may indeed be disposed by nature to exert his intellect, but he requires a national stimulus to obey the voice of nature. To some this stimulus is furnished by war, to others by politics; the Italians must look for all *their* distinction in arts and letters; but for these they must long since have fallen into a lethargic sleep of obscurity, from which there could be no possibility of arousing them. T.

ART. IX.—*Further particulars of Rob Roy, and some branches of his family.*

(Continued from page 139.)

THE arbitrary and uncertain tenures, by which proprietors in the Highlands held their lands and supported their consequence for many ages, had, even at this late period of their history, scarcely been subjected to any material amendment. Those laws formed for the protection of individual right, were in those regions but slightly regarded, as their distance from the seats of government seemed to place them beyond legal authority. Without, therefore any reliance upon statutes to enforce justice or repress vice, the most powerful were the most successful in suppressing inferior chieftains, and grasping vast territories for themselves, which frivolous and unjust pretences were often considered sufficient for the purpose.

Against such acts of violence and iniquity, though overlooked by the indifference of government, did Rob Roy Macgregor manfully and openly draw his sword. He was the strenuous opponent of every deed of cruelty or breach of faith, especially if committed upon those under the pressure of misfortune; the poor, the orphan, the widow, were those for whom he stood boldly forward, and was the avowed champion; and lest his own resources might

not be adequate to those charitable ends, he entered into agreement with different proprietors for their mutual defence; and a contract, founded upon this reciprocal basis, was entered into betwixt him and Buchanan of Arnprair, in 1693; and with the Campbells of Lashnell, Glenfalloch, Lashdochart, and Glenlyon, about the same time.

Contracts of *wadset*, as it was called, were then a common practice in the Highlands, and many small proprietors were swallowed up by superiors, from the undue advantage which was taken under the supposed obligations of those agreements. Many flagitious means were adopted to evade and disannul the redeemable privileges of the proprietor, and from the extraordinary authority which a superior claimed over his vassals during the feudal ages, it was scarcely possible for the inferior to resist his rapacity, or to defend his lawful heritage against such powerful odds.

Upon one of those redeemable bonds of *wadset* were the lands of Glengyle, when Rob Roy's nephew succeeded to them. A neighbouring chieftain of the Campbells had lent a sum of money on them, in this way, which, if not restored in ten years, the lands were to be the forfeiture, though the sum was not half their value. Rob, knowing that every advantage would be taken of the contract, gave his nephew the money, and he went to retire the bond. The period of redemption was exhausted to a few months; and under pretence that the bond could not then be found, the money was refused. Rob, in the meantime, had been employed in some other affair, and the matter having lain over, the bond was allowed to expire. The holder of it sent a party to take possession of the estate in his name; got himself infested on it in the common form; and the owner, young Macgregor, was ordered to remove himself, his dependants, and cattle, in eight days. Rob would not suffer such treatment; and having assembled his *gillies*, set out to make restitution. The nobleman whom he sought was then in Argyllshire, whither Rob proceeded; but he met him travelling in Strathfillan, took him prisoner, and carried him to a small inn not far distant. He told his lordship, that he would not part with him until he produced the bond of Glengyle, and desired that he would instantly send for it to his castle. His lordship knowing Rob's disposition, and apprehensive of personal injury, agreed to give it up when he got home; but our hero put no trust in his promise, and he was forced to comply. Two trusty men, along with two of Rob's were dispatched, and at the end of two days returned with the bond. When it was delivered, his lordship demanded his money; but Rob would pay none, telling him, that the sum was even too small a fine for the outrage he had attempted, and that he might be thankful if he escaped in a sound skin.

Prior to this transaction, and before Rob was noticed by them, the family of Argyll, like some other mighty chiefs, were desirous of reducing the puisne barons within their reach to servile dependence, and they seized upon the lands of those who did not hold them by subordinate charters. For this purpose, a knighted

elevè of the family's was appointed, and among other small estates, which he had by this iniquitous rule annexed to the property of Argyll, was one situated in Glendochart. Rob sent his lads to Glenurchy to waylay this knight; whom, having secured, they conveyed him towards Tyndrum, where Rob met them. He reproached the knight with his injustice, and made him sign a letter, restoring the lands to the right owner; and when he had done this, he took him to St. Fillan's Pool, near that place, and ducking him heartily, told him, that from the established virtues of that pool, a dip in it might improve the knight's honour, so that he would not again rob a poor man of his land.

To supply the wants of the poor with the means of the rich, was our hero's greatest delight, and an appeal to his generosity was never disregarded. On his way to meet Graham of Killearn,* chamberlain of Montrose, as before stated: he gave a poor man money to pay three years rent, of which he was deficient; and when the man afterwards offered to repay the loan, he would not receive it, as he said he had got it back that same day from Killearn. To a widow, who was also in arrears for the rent of her farm, he gave a receipt in name of Montrose, which was sustained, as that nobleman found it convenient sometimes to smooth Rob's hostility by overlooking moderate offences.

On the estate of Perth, a clansman of Rob's occupied a farm on a regular lease; but the factor, Drummond of Blairdrummond, took occasion to break it, and the tenant was ordered to remove. Rob Roy, hearing the story, went to Drummond Castle to redress this grievance. On his arrival there, early on a morning, the first he met was Blairdrummond, in front of the house, and knocking him down, without speaking a word, walked on to the gate. Perth, who saw this from a window, immediately appeared, and, to soften Macgregor's asperity, gave him a cordial welcome. He told Perth, that he wanted no show of hospitality, he insisted only to get back the tack of which his namesake had been deprived, otherwise he would let loose his legions upon his property. Perth was threatened into compliance, the lease was restored, and Rob sat down quietly and breakfasted with the earl.

The cause of provocation which Macgregor sustained from Montrose, by the alienation of his estate of Craigrostan, as formerly mentioned, was aggravated by the dastardly treatment given to his wife by Killearn, in his absence; and it is not surprising, that he did every thing in his power to annoy them. In the gentle punishment he gave the latter for his unmanly outrage, we must admire his forbearance; but the impression which those matters seem to have made on his mind, constantly kept alive that spirit of opposition with which he regarded them; and though he often had them in his power, he never intended to take personal revenge, preferring occasional retaliation on their property.

In his predatory incursions, cattle and meal appear to have been the chief articles of his attention. He scarcely raised any

* Formerly written—Graham of Orchil, by mistake.

grain on his own farms, and when he, or any of his people, or any poor person, were in want of meal, he went to a store which Montrose had at Moulin, ordered the quantity he required, gave the keeper a receipt for it, and made the tenants, with their horses, carry it to his house, or wherever else it was wanted.

The more deliberately to carry on those inroads, he and his men, for he never had less than twelve, casually occupied a cave at the base of Ben Lomond, on the banks of the lake. This recess has its entrance near the water's edge, among huge fragments of rock broken from that stupendous mountain, and fantastically diversified by the interspersions of brushwood, heath, and wild plants, matured in the desert luxuriance of solitude.

But Rob, though generally favoured by fortunate incidents, could not always expect to get off with impunity; and after having many things in his own way, he at length pressed too hard on Montrose, that he was constrained to call out a number of his people, who headed by a confidential Graham, and accompanied by some military, were sent forth to lay hold of Macgregor. Rob and his band chanced to be absent when the Grahams assailed his house; but they learned the course he had taken, and, by day-break next morning, arrived at Crinlarach, a public house in Strathfillan, where our hero and his men had taken quarters for the night—he in the house, and they in an adjoining barn. The Grahams did not wait to gain admission to the house, but broke open the door. Rob was instantly on his feet and accoutred. He levelled them man by man as they came to the door, until his own lads, roused by the noise, attacked the Grahams in the rear with such hard knocks, that they retreated to some distance, leaving behind them several of their party sorely wounded; and Rob, having fortified his men with a glass of whisky, ascended the hill towards Glenfallach. The Grahams, expecting to obtain some advantage over them, followed at a little distance, till Rob's men shot some of the military, and drowned one soldier in a mill-dam, when the Grahams thought proper to withdraw.

After this inglorious trial to overcome Macgregor, though with five times the number of men, Montrose ceased for a while to give him any obstruction, until Rob now grown, if possible, more courageous than ever, made a descent into the plains, and swept away cattle, and every moveable article, from the country round Balfron and other parts; and this was commonly called, *the herri-ship of Kilrain*. This appears to have been the greatest misdemeanor of which he stood accused, as it attracted the notice of government; and the western volunteers were marched into the Highlands to curb the insolence of Rob Roy and his thievish clan, as they were denominated. These volunteers went to Drymen, but finding their entertainment very bad, and the people disaffected, they lay upon their arms all the night, dreading the approach of the Macgregors, who were within a few miles of them, to the number of 500; but they were not molested, being allowed to depart in peace. Several parties of horse, however, were afterwards

dispersed over the country to apprehend Rob, and a reward offered for his head, which obliged him for some months to take shelter in the woods, and in the cave at the side of Loch Lomond.

While under this concealment he was only attended by two men. One day, when travelling in a sequestered place along the side of Lochearn, they were unexpectedly met by seven horsemen, who demanded their names and what they were, to which they gave an evasive answer; but, from our hero's great stature and warlike dress, they had no doubt of his being the person they sought, and desired him to surrender. There was no time for reply, and they sprang up the hill, followed by the troopers. Rob rapidly mounted the higher ground, where neither the horses nor the fire of the riders could touch him; but his companions were not so lucky, as they were overtaken and killed; and being exasperated at this, he fired upon the troopers in return, and killed three of them and four of their horses, when they galloped away.

Having continued to wander from place to place, somewhat forlorn, though not broken in spirit, he became solicitous about the safety of his family, and had them privately removed to a remote situation at the head of Glenfine, among the mountains of Argyll. To this solitude some of his faithful adherents accompanied him, and soon erected habitations for their accommodation; which being finished, Maegregor waited on his protector the Duke of Argyll, to inform him of what he had done.

From this place he and his people paid frequent visits to the lands of Montrose and Athol, from whom they abundantly supplied their wants. But when Montrose understood that Rob had an assylum from Argyll, he wrote to him desiring that the outlaw might be removed from his castle, and given up to justice, and blaming Argyll for having given him any countenance. Argyll replied, that the abode which Rob Roy occupied he had taken without leave, and that he supplied him only with wood for fire, and water for drink; and he believed, that with every thing else Rob would supply himself.

Having found this new retreat, though secure and distant, both inconvenient and uncomfortable, and their enemies having relaxed in their pursuit, they left the bleak hills of Argyll, and again took up their residence on the soil of their nativity.

The various assaults to which Rob Roy had been accessory upon the Earl of Athol and his numerous vassals, were not dictated by malice, or a wish for spoil, but continued as a chastisement for the contempt in which he was held by that nobleman, who did not respect his bravery, although he had often seen and dreaded its effects. Rob having shewn no inclination to desist from those practices, Athol resolved to correct him in person as all former attempts to subdue him had failed, and with this bold intention he set forward to Balquhiddar. A large portion of that country then belonged to Athol; and when he arrived there, he summoned the attendance of his vassals; who very unwillingly accompanied him to Rob's house, as many of them were Macgregors, but dared not refuse

their laird. Rob's mother having died in his house, preparations were going forward for the funeral, which was to take place that day; and on this occasion he could have dispensed with such unlooked for guests. He knew the purpose of their visit, and to escape seemed impossible; but, with strength of mind and quickness of thought, he buckled on his sword, and went out to meet the earl. He saluted him very graciously, and said, that he was much obliged to his lordship for having come, unasked, to his mother's funeral, which was a piece of friendship he did not expect; but Athol replied, that he did not come for that purpose, but to desire his company to Perth. Rob, however, declined the honour, as he could not leave his mother's funeral, but after doing that last duty to his parent, he would go if his lordship insisted upon it. Athol said the funeral could go on without him, and would not delay. A long remonstrance ensued; but the earl was inexorable, and Rob, apparently complying, went away amidst the cries and tears of his sisters and kindred. Their distress roused his soul to a pitch of irresistible desperation, and breaking from the party, several of whom he threw down, he drew his sword. Athol, when he saw him retreat, and his party intimidated by such resolution, drew a holster pistol and fired at him. Rob fell at the same instant, not by the ball, which never touched him, but by slipping a foot. One of his sisters, the lady of Glenfallach, a stout woman, seeing her brother fall, believed he was killed, and making a furious spring at Athol, seized him by the throat, and brought him from his horse to the ground. In a few minutes that nobleman would have been choked, as it defied the by-standers to unfix the lady's grasp, until Rob went to his relief, when he was in the agonies of suffocation.

Several of our hero's friends, who observed the suspicious haste of Athol and his party towards his house, dreading some evil design, speedily armed and running to his assistance, were just arrived as Athol's eye-balls were beginning to revert into their sockets. Rob declared, that had the earl been so polite as allow him to wait his mother's burial, he would have then gone along with him; but this being refused, he would now remain in spite of all his efforts; and the lady's embrace having much astonished the earl, he was in no condition to renew his orders, so that he and his men departed as quickly as they could. Had they staid till the clan assembled to the exequies of the old woman, it is doubtful if either the chief or his companions had ever returned to taste Athol brose.

Though Rob Roy Macgregor was conscious how little the personal virtues of the Stewart family entitled them to support, he yet considered their right to the crown as hereditary, and consequently indefeasible; and from this conviction, he resolved that his exertions should be directed to their cause. When the clans, therefore, began to arm in favour of that house, in 1715, he also prepared the clan Gregor for the contest, in concert with his nephew, Gregor Macgregor of Glengyle.

A large body of Macgregors were at this time collected, and became very formidable. They marched into Monteith and Lennox, and disarmed all those whom they considered of opposite principles. Having secured all the boats on Loch Lomond, they took possession of an island in it, from whence they sent parties over the neighbouring countries to levy contributions, and extort such penalties as they judged proper. But serious apprehensions being entertained of their disposition for mischief, great crowds of military, lairds and their tenantry, assembled, and they were dislodged, and forced to join a camp of Highlanders from other quarters in Strathfillan, but not till after several struggles with the king's troops, different detachments of which they defeated.

The progress of the earl of Mar with his army of disaffected Highlanders, greatly alarmed the government, and immediate orders were transmitted to Edinburgh, to secure such suspected persons as were thought inimical to the king, and among others, Rob Roy Macgregor was specially named. He, however, conducted himself with some caution on this occasion, and waited to observe the complexion of matters before he should proceed farther, as his friend Argyll had espoused the part of king George, a circumstance which greatly distressed him. In a state of considerable indecision, he proceeded to the Lowlands, and hovered about both armies prior to the battle of Sheriff-muir, without making any declaration or offer to join either; and upon that event he remained an inactive spectator. This unexpected conduct arose from two motives equally powerful,—a wish not to offend his patron, the Duke of Argyll, should he join the earl of Mar,—and that he might not act contrary to his conscience, by joining Argyll against his expatriated king.

Though the undecided issue of this trial eventually brought about the dispersion of the Highland army, the Macgregors continued together; but unwilling to return home without some substantial display of conquest, they marched to Faulkland, and garrisoned the ancient palace of that place; where, without much ceremony, they exacted rigorous fines from the king's friends. Here they remained till Argyll arrived at Perth, when they retired to their own country with the spoils they had acquired; but they continued in arms for several years thereafter, to the no small disturbance of their neighbours, in the pursuit of their usual compulsory habits.

Those daring practices seem to have been the reason why, in the subsequent act of indemnity, or free pardon, the Macgregors were excluded from mercy in these words:—"Excepting all persons of the name and clan of Macgregor, mentioned in an act of parliament made in Scotland in the first of the late king Charles I. instituted anent the clan Macgregor, whatever name he or they may have, or do assume, or commonly pass under;" and consequently our hero's name appeared attained, as "Robert Campbell, *alias* Macgregor, *commonly* called Robert Roy."

In raising the tax of *black-mail*, Rob Roy was in some measure sanctioned, if not by act of parliament, at least by statutes of local institution, as he was for some time a contractor for assisting the police of different districts in collecting duties somewhat similar to the other. These affairs of police were nearly the same, though not constituted under like regulations as the succeeding *black-watch*, the origin of the now gallant 42d regiment.

Rob, who was in a great degree thus supported, openly demanded his dues, and took strong measures to enforce payment—his attack on Garden Castle was of that description. The owner was absent when Rob went to claim his right, which had long been withheld on pretences not to be allowed. He, however, took possession of the fortress; and when the owner returned he was refused admittance, until he would pay the reward of protection: but he refused; and Rob having ascended the turrets with a child from the nursery, threatened to throw it over the walls; which speedily brought the laird, at the intercession of his lady, to an agreement, when our hero restored the keys of the castle and took his leave.

Whether Rob Roy had ever paid respect to religious duties, or what might have been the extent of his creed during the more prosperous part of his life, is not certain, though he was by birth a Protestant; but he was at one period reduced so low in his finances, that he left his farm, and lived in a small hut in a distant glen. In this humble abode, whether affected by remorse for his past irregular life, or whether he had seriously come to the persuasion, that he might overcome all his errors by the interposition of Catholic priests, from their declared power of absolving all species of sin, has not been transmitted to us; but Rob had taken the resolution of becoming Roman Catholic, and he accordingly went to a Mr. Alexander Drummond, an old priest of that faith, who resided at Drummond Castle. What the nature of Rob's confessions were, or the penance which his sins required, has been concealed; but if we may judge from the account he himself gave of his interview with this ecclesiastic,—“that the old man frequently groaned, crossed himself, and exacted a heavy remuneration,”—Rob's crimes must have been of difficult expiation: “It was a convenient religion, however,” he used to say, “which for a little money could put asleep the conscience.”

But whatever amendment this apostacy from the tenets of his fathers might have effected on our hero's principles of morality, which were previously loose and unsettled, certain it is, that the restless and active temper of his mind did not long allow him to remain the quiet votary of his new faith; and a desperate foray into the north Highlands having been projected by his nephew, he was requested to take the command. Tired of inactive life, to which he had never been accustomed, and willing to do any thing to retrieve his decayed circumstances, he readily consented, and set out at the head of twenty men. It has been affirmed upon good authority, that these Macgregors, with other Highlanders, joined

some Spaniards who landed on the north west coast in 1719, and were with them at the battle of Glensheil; and that Rob and his party afterwards plundered a Spanish ship after being in possession of the English, which so enriched Rob that he again began farming, and returned to the braes of Balquhiddar.

For a considerable period after the reformation the establishment of Prebyterian clergy was very precarious, particularly in the Highland districts, where the Romish persuasion long struggled for predominance. Their settlement was often resisted by the parishioners, and their stipends being ill paid, it being customary for the lairds to fix the payment of them on their tenants, who were also made liable for any augmentation of stipend the incumbent might afterwards obtain. In the days of our hero, a Mr. Ferguson had been appointed to the parish of Balquhiddar; but his introduction was opposed by the whole body of the people, and he would not be admitted until he promised not to apply for an increase of salary. Finding, however, that he could not live on so small a sum, he subsequently took the usual legal steps for procuring an addition; but Rob Roy put a speedy termination to the business. He got hold of the minister, forced him into a public house near his own church, made him drink profusely of whisky, and caused him to sign a paper renouncing every future claim of augmentation; but he gave, at the same time, his own obligation, binding himself to send the minister, every year, half a score of sheep and a fat cow, which, during his life, was regularly done.

In his trade of dealing in cattle, Rob Roy often required to travel to different parts of the Lowlands, and the last time he visited Edinburgh was to recover a debt due him by a person who was reputed opulent, but who had taken refuge in the sanctuary of the abbey. There Rob went and saw his man; but the sacredness of the place did not protect him; and although he was a strong man, Macgregor laid hold of him, dragged him across the line of safety, and, having some officers of the law in waiting, gave over his charge to them, by which means he got his money.

The power which Macgregor possessed in his arms was very uncommon. It was scarcely possible to wrench any thing out of his hands, and he was known to seize a deer by the horns and hold him fast. His arms were long, almost to deformity, as when he stood erect he could touch his knee-pans with his fingers. Some of his neighbours might indeed say that he had long arms; but in all his private transactions he was honourable, and was much respected by the gentlemen of his country, with whom he constantly associated; and though it may appear that he did not, in his partial warfare, act in conformity to the nicest principles of justice, the greater number of his errors were yet venial, and, in his own estimation, the fair and justifiable requital of injury which he or others had sustained.

With the family of Montrose he had been at enmity for more than thirty years; but he considered the hurt they had done him to be an inexpressible offence, which he never forgave: but the animosity

sity and rivalry which had existed betwixt Montrose and Argyll, was probably a strong incentive to instigate Rob to that course which he had so long pursued against the former, as there is much reason to believe that Argyll took Rob by the hand merely to make him an instrument of opposition to Montrose.

The fame of Rob Roy Macgregor had travelled far and over many countries. His achievements were every where extolled as the matchless deeds of unconquered Caledonia; and though his prowess could not be said at all times to have been displayed upon occasions strictly meritorious, yet the general tenor of his conduct was admired in his own country, as it accorded with an ancient *Gaelic* saying, which marked the well known character of the Highlander, *that he would not turn his back on a friend nor an enemy*: yet he neither boasted of his strength nor his courage, and he did not look on his past exploits with the pride of a victor, but with the honest exultation of having supported the valour of his clan, and opposed the devouring tide of oppression. Steady in these principles, he never wantonly took up a quarrel; and, from a consciousness of his own powers, he was unwilling to adopt personal contention; yet he was often challenged to single combat, which he never refused; but on the last two trials he was worsted, when he threw down his sword and vowed he would never take it up again, for then he was nearly blind, and his strength had suffered the decay of years.

At length, worn out with the laborious vicissitudes of a restless life, he sunk calmly to his end, at the farm of Inverlocharigbegi among the braes of Balquhiddar, in 1740. His remains rest in the church yard of that parish, with no other monument to mark his grave than a simple stone, on which some kindred spirit has carved a sword—the appropriate emblem of the man:—

“Clan-Alpine’s omen and her aid.”

ART. X.—*The Tomb of Warren.*

THERE is a solemn, though sweet satisfaction, in contemplating the tomb of the brave. The recollection of their deeds arises to supply the ardour of curiosity, and to elevate the mind with noble sentiments. But, how many proud reflections are aroused, when we regard the turf that covers the remains of the honoured dead, martyrs to freedom’s cause?—patriots, who fell gloriously contending for whatever could bind a cause to themselves and their posterity; at the price of whose blood, our independence—all the rights, privileges, and blessings we enjoy as freemen, were greatly, though dearly won.

Their merit survives the frail memorials of the tomb. Their fame is enshrined in the memory of their countrymen. Distant generations shall recount the gallant resistance of a handful of undisciplined volunteers, to the tried veterans who disputed the victory of that day, when the triumph of native valour—the spontaneous burst of patriotic enthusiasm, was memorably asserted over mercenary regulars.

Foremost in this great struggle was JOSEPH WARREN, fitted alike for counsel and for action, prompt, intuitive, ardent, of bold decision, and unquenchable zeal. Whatever he determined, and he was eminently qualified to determine soundly, he was strenuous to urge and indefatigable to execute—qualities particularly serviceable at a period when even the prudent might waver and the cautious be afraid. But Warren was fearless, when the public interest, and his own glory involved, were in question.

It is for great minds to appreciate that devotion which rises with the occasion, buoyant with its own elasticity, which springs at the call of duty—sees no danger too difficult to surmount—no obstacle but to be overcome. Before it, impediments recede, and the magnitude of opposition serves but to excite higher energies to meet it.

Such characters, nurtured in revolutions, appear to be the immediate instruments in the hands of providence, of great designs. They occur rarely in an age, as if their virtues were to be the more impressive for this rarity. But for their magnanimous resolves, their heroic and inspiring examples, their directing guides, what would have been the current of many of the happiest events that now adorn the calendar of human affairs? Without them, how precarious the tenure of liberty with life, of national existence, and political franchise?

In the annals of our country, the name of Warren is enumerated as the first victim of rank who fell in the arduous struggle with Great Britain. This distinguished person was born at Roxbury, near Boston, in 1740. He was entered of Harvard college, Cambridge, and graduated in 1759. Pursuing the study of medicine with great success, he attracted early notice, and in a few years rose to eminence in his profession as one of the ablest physicians in Boston. But other, and more pressing duties, in his mind, absorbed his interests, and urged him to make great sacrifices for his country's weal. His comprehensive intellect could not fail to perceive, in the distance, that a combination of causes was operating fast to accelerate a mighty change in the relations between Great Britain and his country. The cloud then lowering over the political horizon, portended the coming storm. He foresaw that it would burst on that portion of the state which seemed peculiarly to have an imperious claim upon his talents and his services. To be wanting on such an occasion to a full sense of duty, was reserved for souls less daring, who could purchase security at whatever price. In the estimation of Warren, a sacrifice of the emoluments of a lucrative profession was light in the comparison; setting at nought, then, the considerations that engross ordinary minds, he stepped boldly forward, the advocate of a vigorous resistance, when he saw that, between the extremes of power on the one hand, and unqualified emancipation on the other, there is no safe interval.

His eloquence as a speaker, and his talents as a writer, were conspicuous on all occasions, from the year in which the stamp act was passed, to the commencement of hostilities. He predicted, and with

an energy that appalled enemies while it animated friends, he enforced, with irrefragable ability, the great truth—that America was competent to withstand any force that could be sent against her; for that while he spoke, one hundred thousand men of New England alone, descendants of the puritans in the Charles's and James's days, were ready—men who had not lost the spirit of Englishmen under the English commonwealth.

He continued, from the year 1768, a principal member of a secret committee in Boston, which had great influence on the concerns of the country. At their meetings, plans of defence and preparation were agitated and matured, and in all these delicate proceedings, his boldness, his decision, and zeal were governed by the circumspection and wisdom with which they were happily tempered. After the destruction of the tea, and the consequent defeat of that attempt at foreign impost, the proceedings of this committee were no longer kept concealed. Warren was the avowed champion of decisive measures. His unhesitating espousal of the cause of liberty, pointed him out a leader in those times, and he was twice chosen the public orator of the town on the anniversaries of the massacre,* when he delivered orations breathing all the energy of a lofty mind.

On the evening before the battle of Lexington, he obtained, through his usual indefatigable industry, early information of the intended expedition against Concord, and at ten o'clock at night despatched an express to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at Lexington, to warn them of their danger. He himself followed on the next day, hovered about the enemy, and was very active during the engagement of the memorable 19th of April. It is said, in general Heath's memoirs, that a ball took off part of his ear-lock. After the departure of John Hancock to the general congress, he was chosen president of the Massachusetts congress in his place, and by his extensive influence, was of signal benefit in preserving order among the troops then assembled at Cambridge, which, in the confused state of the army, was essentially important. Four days previously to the battle of Bunker's or more properly Breed's Hill, he received his commission of major general in the armies of the general congress, then held at Philadelphia.

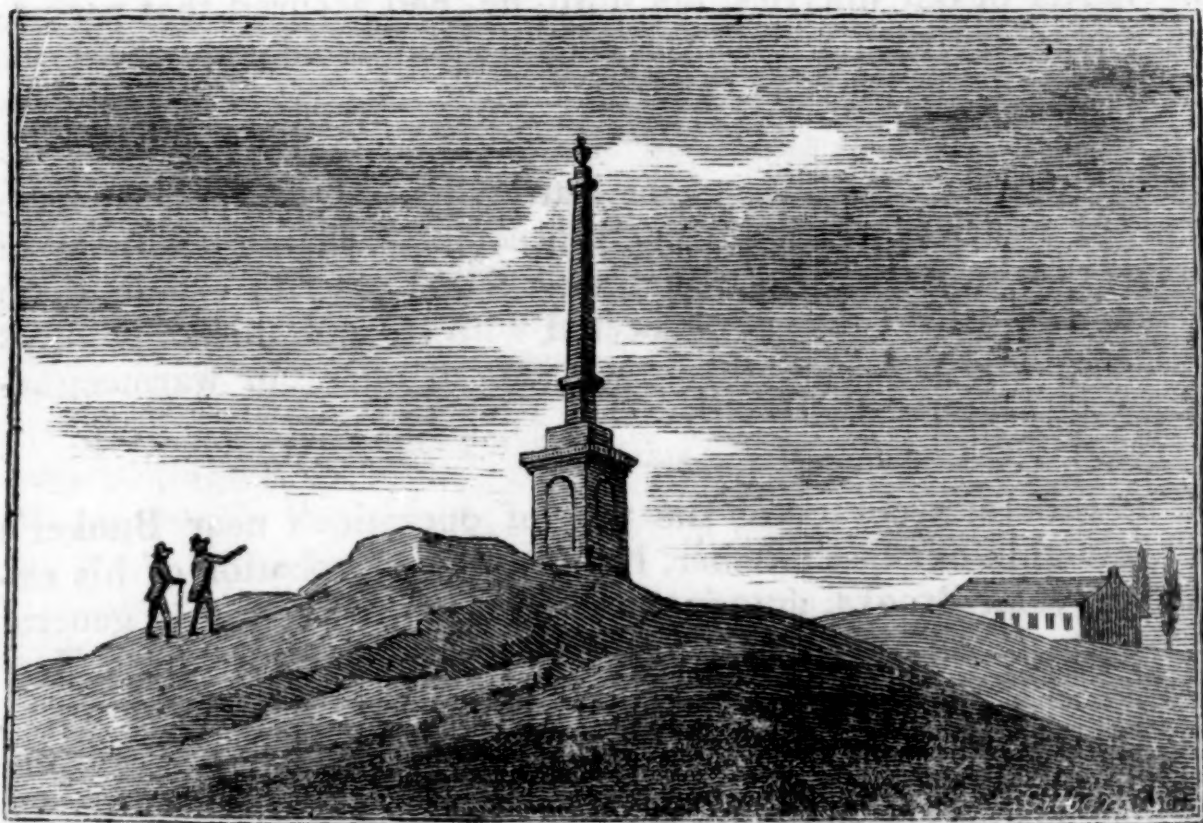
In the morning of that eventful day the 17th of June, 1775, he repaired from head-quarters at Cambridge to Breed's Hill, in order to inspect the intrenchments and give directions personally, respecting the completion of the works. His ardor did not allow him to remain an inactive spectator, but, with a view to encourage the men, he took his station within the lines, and assisted in their defence. He was in the hottest of the action, and towards the close of it, while in the trenches, received the fatal shot that prematurely terminated his valuable life, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. Thus was cut off in the flower of his age, this gallant hero, loved, lamented, the theme of universal regret—a loss, at any time

* He published one oration in 1772, and another in 1775, commemorative of the 5th of March, 1770.

deeply, but then, most poignantly felt. As Leonidas he was brave; as Leonidas he fell, with truly Spartan spirit, waging an unequal contest for the liberties of his country. But, though he did not outlive the glories of that great occasion, he had lived long enough for fame. It needed no other herald of his actions than the simple testimony of the historian, that Warren fell, foremost in the ranks of that war which he had justified by his argument, supported by his energy, and signalized by his prowess.

Dulce, et decorum est, pro patria mori.

The monument erected by his fellow citizens, on the spot where he poured out his latest breath, commemorates at once his achievement and a people's gratitude. The representation of it here given was taken on Breed's Hill, and may be depended upon for its accuracy.



Though untimely was his fall, and though a cloud of sorrow overspread every countenance at the recital of his fate, yet, if the love of fame be the noblest passion of the human mind, and human nature pant for distinction in the martial field, perhaps there never was a moment of more unfading glory, offered to the wishes of the brave, than that which marked the exit of this heroic officer. Still, who will not lament that he incautiously courted the post of danger, while more important occasions required a regard to personal safety?

He was endowed with a clear and vigorous understanding, a disposition humane and generous—qualities which, graced by manners affable and engaging, rendered him the idol of the army and of his friends. His powers of speech and reasoning commanded respect, and gained him influence in the Massachusetts congress, whose electing voice, together with his native intrepidity, and sanguine zeal for the cause he had embraced, induced him to enter

into the military line. His professional as well as political abilities were of the highest order. Though energetic, he was prudent and judicious in debate, generous, and, to his honour be it said, liberal towards those who entertained opposite sentiments respecting the controversy in which he was engaged—an example worthy of serious remembrance and imitation.

To the most undaunted resolution in the field, he united the softer virtues of domestic life—and embellished the wisdom of a profound statesman with the eloquence of an accomplished orator.

He had been an active volunteer in several skirmishes which had occurred since the commencement of hostilities, in all of which he gave strong presages of capacity and distinction in the profession of arms. But the fond hopes of his country were to be closed in death, not, however, until he had sealed with his blood the charter of our liberties, not until he had secured that permanence of glory with which we encircle the memory, whilst we cherish the name, of WARREN.

Since our former notice of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, we have received a variety of documents, proceeding from the testimony of survivors who were in a situation, on that day, to enable them to judge of all the events connected with it; and, to the eminent character who collected them, we beg to offer our warmest acknowledgments.

The general accuracy of the plan of operations near Bunker's Hill, given in our last number, has met the approbation of his excellency John Brooks, governor of Massachusetts, major general Dearborn, Dr. A. Dexter, and the Hon. William Prescott, of Boston, son of the gallant colonel Prescott, of whom honourable mention is made in accounts of this battle; the Hon. James Winthrop, of Cambridge, and John Kettell, esq. Deacon Thomas Miller, and Dr. Bartlett, of Charlestown, who have expressed concurring opinions in favour of it, as being a faithful outline. Two doubts only were suggested.

1st. As to the position of the *abbatis* or *hay-fence*, which was hastily got up just before the action, and

2d. As to the pieces of cannon represented behind it, and which are mentioned in the references.

General Dearborn thinks that the rail-fence was farther in advance towards Breed's hill than is represented on the plan, and that it was nearly in a line with the *breast-work*. Dr. Dexter is of the same opinion. So also is Deacon Miller. Upon describing the present known objects which the line of fence would pass over, it was considered by Dr. Bartlett, to whom the ground is familiar, that the description, in fact, supported the plan. Judge Winthrop is satisfied that the position of the fence on the plan is correct. The account which follows was kindly committed to paper by himself.

"As far as I can recollect, I believe the plan to be generally correct. The railed fence was, I think, as far as a quarter of a mile from the curtain belonging to the redoubt. There was room for a body of troops to enter that way, which was one circumstance that discomfited our men. There was no such grove as is represented on the plan. There were two or three trees near the fences, and, I believe, not more than that number. I remember two field pieces at the rail fence which covered our left. When I first got there, generals Warren and Putnam were standing by the pieces and consulting together. Very few men were at that part of the lines. I went forward to the redoubt, and tarried there a little while. Mr. James Swan and myself were in company. Finding that a column of the enemy were advancing toward our left, and not far from Mystic river, we pointed them out to the people without the redoubt, and proposed that some measure should be taken to man the fence, which, when we passed, we had considered as slightly guarded. We two, in the style of the times, were appointed a committee for that purpose. We went directly to the rail fence, and found a body of men had arrived since we had left it. Possibly three hundred would not be an estimate far from the truth. As soon as we had got to the middle of the line, the firing commenced from the redoubt and continued through our left. The field pieces stood there, and nobody appeared to have the care of them. After an obstinate dispute, our people were driven from the redoubt, and the retreat was rapid from our whole line. I saw one or two young men, in uniform, try to muster a party to bring off the field pieces, but they could not succeed.

"In coming down Bunker's Hill, at the place where the British built their fort, I met a regiment going up, and joined company, still in hopes of repelling the invaders. I have since learned that it was Col. Gardner's regiment. He being badly wounded was removed, and his regiment was not deployed.

"When the firing commenced from the redoubt, the smoke rose from the lower part of the street. A man near me pointed to it as 'the smoke from the guns.' This shows that the fire was in a line with the redoubt and the middle of the rail fence. By laying a ruler from the middle of the rail fence, as marked upon the plan, and over that side of the fort next the main street, it will cross the northern side of the square where the court-house stood. After the destruction of the town, the places of the court-house and meeting-house were cleared of the ruins to form the present square. An irregular mass of buildings was also removed in front of the present hotel, and extended that corner of the square to its present magnitude. As well as I can conclude from this statement, I am inclined to believe the plan nearly correct.

JAMES WINTHROP."

General Dearborn does not recollect seeing any cannon at the place indicated on the plan; and is confident there were none. Deacon Miller is of the same opinion. Governor Brooks thinks differently, and Judge Winthrop's letter distinctly affirms that two field pieces were on that part of the ground. It appears, however, from the whole of the evidence, that little or no use was made of them.

Some of the witnesses expressed an opinion, that there was no such break between the breast-work and the hay-fence, as is re-

presented on the plan; but there was a line of that sort of imperfect defence extending from the breast-work to the shore. It is so represented in the plan of the action in Stedman's History of the American War (*English edition, quarto*). A line drawn on Lieut. De Berniere's plan from the lower end of the breast-work to the *hay-fence*, will correspond, as to the lines of defence, with Stedman's plan. It appears that the British grenadiers received a very heavy fire from the place marked P, and, it is not probable that the troops from whom that fire proceeded were altogether unprotected. Indeed there are three angular figures represented at that place in De Berniere's plan, which are not very intelligible, and were probably meant to indicate unfinished intrenchments, or some other description of defence. Judge Winthrop's letter, however, mentions the accuracy of the plan in this particular also.

Particulars respecting the action, collected from the gentlemen consulted, as above mentioned.—The men who first went on the hill in the evening of the 16th, and constructed the works, were in number about one thousand, detachments principally of Prescott's, Bridge's, and Fry's regiments. Colonel Prescott had the command. Three companies of Bridge's regiment were not included in the order. Captain Brooks (now governor Brooks) commanded one of these companies. He obtained colonel Bridge's consent to accompany him, and was on the ground the whole night, as a volunteer, without his company. Early in the morning of the 17th a man was killed at the redoubt by a fire from one of the ships in Charles's river. A council of war was held in the redoubt, which captain Brooks attended. There was some diversity of opinion as to the course to be pursued, and what message should be sent to the commander in chief at Cambridge, general Ward. Some one urged that they ought to be relieved, after the fatigues of the night, and that the works required to be manned with fresh troops to withstand the expected attack. To this proposal colonel Prescott was decidedly opposed. "No," said he, "the men who erected the works, will defend them." It was determined to request the other three companies of Bridge's regiment to be sent as a reinforcement. Captain Brooks was despatched to Cambridge in performance of this duty,—a service not a little hazardous, on account of an incessant fire maintained by the ships and gun-boats across Charlestown neck, which it was necessary to pass. General Ward objected to weaken his force by detaching more troops from Cambridge. It could not be done, in his opinion, without indiscreet and unjustifiable risk of that important post. The whole plan of the enemy could not be conjectured. A diversion might be attempted in aid of the main operation, and a general attack might be facilitated by abstracting any larger portion of the means of defence. He thought also that a sufficient number was already on the field. Whilst deliberating on this subject, Richard Devens, esq. of Charlestown, had an interview with the general, in the course of which he vehemently remonstrated against what he understood to be the determination. Mr. Devens was one of the

committee of safety, and, from his station and character, his opinion, so decidedly expressed, had a preponderating influence. The companies were ordered to proceed.

General Dearborn was captain of a company in colonel Stark's regiment. That regiment, and colonel Reed's, both from New-Hampshire, went on the ground on the 17th, just as the British troops were advancing from their first position. He was at the hay-fence on the American left. He does not know by whom, or when it was constructed. There were but few men at that post when it was occupied by the New Hampshire troops. He describes the repeated repulses of the light infantry and grenadiers in that part of the line, as in all the published accounts. He recognized among the British troops, the twenty-third or Welsh fusileers, so distinguished at the battle of Minden. These he knew by their uniform, having particularly noticed them on parade at Boston in 1774. General D. when a prisoner at Quebec in 1776, conversed with an officer of the British 47th regiment, who confirmed Stedman's account of the blunder in sending shot from Boston during the action, of dimensions larger than the calibre of the field pieces. The general conceives that a diversion might, and ought to have been made, by the officer in command on Bunker's hill, who had troops sufficient for the purpose, and that it would have had the good effect of relieving, in some degree, the pressure on those in the lines—an opinion corroborated by that of colonel Prescott in his remarks upon this subject to several of his friends.

Judge Winthrop entered the field on that memorable day, attached to no military corps. He was young and ardent in the interesting cause, and yielded to feelings which impelled him to be active on the occasion. (See his observations.)

Dr. Dexter was a spectator of the battle from the Malden side of Mystic river. His situation was particularly favourable to a distinct view of what took place on the British right wing. He saw the light infantry and grenadiers retreat twice to the shore. Upon their second repulse, before they advanced again, the men pulled off their coats, and marched up to the final attack stripped of that garment. It was at this period, probably, that they laid down part of the load with which, Stedman says, they were injudiciously encumbered—knapsacks, with three days provisions!

John Kettell, esq. was a soldier in captain Perkins's company of colonel Little's regiment, from the county of Essex. The whole regiment contained about eight hundred men. This regiment marched to the hill just before the action commenced. He at first went into the redoubt, which was full of men, and they were not wanted at that place; they then repaired to the breast-work, and hay-fence, taking post as they were wanted.

Deacon T. Miller was an ensign in captain Harris's company, colonel Gardner's regiment. The division of the regiment ordered to the ground, amounted to about three hundred men. He went on just at the commencement of the action, and was at the hay-

fence, but mentions no particulars of any interest not already well known and published.

Remarks.—The accounts given of Bunker's hill battle immediately after it took place, are singularly meagre and imperfect. In Ede's Gazette, of Monday the 17th, the subject is disposed of in one short paragraph, and so defective was the state of information at Watertown, where the gazette was published, that the editor speaks of the engagement as continuing when the paper was put to press, at nine o'clock on Monday morning. This can but refer to the shots occasionally exchanged between the two parties, the British, occupying Bunker's hill, and the Americans, posted on Prospect hill.

In "*Almon's Remembrancer*," is an article of intelligence from the New York Gazette of June 26, detailing accounts respecting the action brought by express to that city. It states the number of British troops engaged at about three thousand, the Americans fifteen hundred. The defence of posts and rails is there said to have been performed by captain Knowlton, with four hundred of the Connecticut forces. This corresponds with an account now given by Mr. Adams, who lives in that part of Charlestown without the Neck, and at whose house Knowlton's company was quartered. He says, the company went on the hill in the evening of the 17th, by order of general Putnam. There were between eighty and ninety men in the company. After their return, they mentioned to Mr. Adams, among other matters, the pulling up a string of fence, carrying it to other fences, filling the interval with newly mown grass, and fighting, most of them, behind this slender protection. Captain Knowlton and his lieutenant Keyes were experienced officers, having served in the French war which closed with the peace of 1763. The loss in that company was three killed, and the same number wounded.

The following article, copied from a Providence newspaper, of July 15, though it may not be satisfactory as respects the number of killed and wounded, yet serves to show the several regiments to which the troops engaged belonged.

"The following is an exact return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the American army in the action of June 17, at Charlestown, viz.

| Regiments. | | Killed & Missing. | | | | Wounded. |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----|---|---|----------|
| <i>New Hampshire</i> — | Col. Stark's | - | 15 | - | - | 45 |
| | Read's | | | | | |
| | Gen. Ward's | - | 1 | - | - | 6 |
| <i>Massachusetts</i> — | Col. Scammon's | - | 0 | - | - | 3 |
| | Bridge's | - | 15 | - | - | 29 |
| | Gerrish's | - | 3 | - | - | 2 |
| | Prescott's | - | 42 | - | - | 28 |
| | Whitcomb's | - | 5 | - | - | 8 |
| | Fry's | - | 15 | - | - | 31 |
| | Brewer's | - | 7 | - | - | 11 |
| | Nixon's | - | 3 | - | - | 10 |
| Carried up, | | | 106 | | | 172 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----|---|-----|
| | Brought up, | 106 | | 172 |
| Massachusetts—Col. Little's | - | 7 | - | 23 |
| Woodbridge's | - | 1 | - | 5 |
| Gardner's | - | 6 | - | 7 |
| Doolittle's | - | 0 | - | 9 |
| Gridley's | - | 0 | - | 4 |
| Connecticut—Gen. Putnam's | } | 15 | - | 30 |
| Capt. Coit's comp. | | | | |
| Chester's | | | | |
| | | 135 | | 250 |
| | About 30 of the missing returned, | | | 30 |
| | | | | 220 |
| | | | | 135 |
| | Total of killed, wounded, and missing, | | | 355 |

By this account it appears, that the three Massachusetts regiments which first occupied the hill, and were principally in the redoubt, suffered the most. The New Hampshire forces are next to them in amount of loss. Gridley was of the artillery. His men, it is believed, were not on the hill, but engaged on the shore without the neck, against the gun-boats.

Various estimates have been made, and opinions pronounced, as to the number of men engaged in this important action. Judge Marshall* states the British force at about three thousand men, composing the flower of the army.† The American force, he observes, was stated through the country at fifteen hundred; by some it has been supposed to be considerably larger. They who embrace a more extended calculation, probably include the troops outside the Neck, who bore no part in the action, and ought not to be considered as a portion of the force engaged.

Stedman's account of the employment of the field pieces on the British side, is very different from De Berniere's, for he represents them as considerably farther in advance, and is silent respecting their being stopped by a marsh. From the position of the artillery, as designated by Stedman, it would require but little progress forward to bring the pieces in a line with the breast work; and this opera-

* Vide life of Washington by chief justice Marshall.

† Our readers are requested to supply an omission in the account given in our last number of the description of British troops first landed at Moreton's point for the attack of the works. It is said, page 151, that the force landed there, consisted of 10 companies of light infantry, 10 companies of grenadiers, and a proportion of field artillery. Mention should have been made of the 4 battalions, in addition to those companies, that accompanied them, viz. the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d, all which appear on the plan of De Berniere. The light infantry and grenadiers consisted of the flank companies detached from different regiments in garrison at Boston. The omission originated in Judge Marshall's life of Washington; in Holmes's annals the same narrative is adopted without alteration. In a future edition of these works, our amendment will no doubt be attended to, as it is derived from the official accounts of general Gage, the British commander in chief, printed herewith.

tion would accord with the account given by the Massachusetts congress, that "the enemy brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breast-work from one end of it to the other."

The breast-work was first forced by the grenadiers and regiments opposed to it, according to Stedman's account. It was at this place, probably, that one of captain Knowlton's company acquired a trophy—the musket of one of the grenadiers, whom he killed or disabled in the act of mounting the intrenchment, and brought it from the field to his quarters at Mr. Adams's house. The name of this man was *Ammiden*.

[As the official accounts of the action, given on both sides, do not appear in any of our histories, and are not readily accessible to the general reader, we have been induced to republish them from Almon's Remembrancer, a work now scarce, yet abounding with the most interesting documents relative to American affairs.]

Copy of a letter from the hon. lieutenant general Gage, governor, and commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's forces in Boston, to the earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state, dated Boston, June 25th, 1775.

MY LORD,—I am to acquaint your lordship of an action that happened on the 17th inst. between his majesty's troops and a large body of the rebel forces.

An alarm was given at break of day, on the 17th inst. by a firing from the *Lively** ship of war; and advice was soon afterwards received that the rebels had broke ground, and were raising a battery on the heights of the peninsula of Charlestown, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and, in a few hours, a battery of six guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for landing a body of men to drive them off; and ten companies of the grenadiers, ten of light infantry, with the 5th, 38th, 43d and 52d battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under the command of major general Howe, and brigadier general Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, by whose fire the rebels were kept within their works.

The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon their left. The 5th, and 38th battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the 43d and 52 battalions made a third line. The rebels upon the heights were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt thrown up on the 16th, at night, with other works, full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in Charlestown, covered their right flank; and their center and left were covered by a breast-work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystick or Medford river.

* It is amusing, now, to observe the term *rebels*, applied to our brave countrymen; but, it is true that, so nearly allied are the greatest of political virtues and crimes, that, had the gallant *Warren* been taken prisoner, and the cause which he espoused, have been abandoned after the capture of Charlestown, he would in all probability, have closed that life ignominiously on a scaffold, which he so nobly devoted to the dearest interests and welfare of his country. Success, in all such cases is the only criterion of merit; and the same zeal, the same intrepidity that now ranks him with Epaminondas and Kosciusko, would, in a different issue, have subjected this heroic character to the fate of a felon.

This appearance of the rebels' strength, and the large columns seen pouring in to their assistance, occasioned an application for the troops to be reinforced with some companies of light infantry and grenadiers; the 47th battalion, and the 1st battalion of marines; the whole when in conjunction, making a body of something above 2000 men. These troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began by a sharp cannonade from the field pieces and the howitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry was directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the rebel line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the 5th and 52d battalions. These orders were executed with perseverance, under a heavy fire from the vast numbers of the rebels; and notwithstanding various impediments before the troops could reach the works, and though the left, under brigadier general Pigot, was engaged also with the rebels at Charlestown, which, at a critical moment, was set on fire, the brigadier pursued his point, and carried the redoubt.

The rebels were then forced from other strong holds, and pursued till they were driven clear off the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them.

The loss the rebels sustained must have been considerable, from the great numbers they carried off during the time of action, and buried in holes, since discovered; exclusive of what they suffered by the shipping and boats; near one hundred were buried the day after, and thirty found wounded, in the field, three of which are since dead.

I inclose your lordship a return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's troops.

This action has shewn the superiority of the king's troops, who, under every disadvantage, attacked and defeated above three times their own number, strongly posted and covered by breast-works.

The conduct of major general Howe was conspicuous on this occasion, and his example inspirited the troops, in which major general Clinton assisted, who followed the reinforcement. And in justice to brigadier general Pigot, I am to add, that the success of the day must, in great measure, be attributed to his firmness and gallantry.

Lieutenant colonels Nesbitt, Abercrombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn, and Short, exerted themselves remarkably; and the valour of the British officers and soldiers in general, was at no time more conspicuous than in this action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS GAGE.

Return of the total loss in officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, killed and wounded, of his majesty's troops, at the attack of the redoubts and entrenchments on the heights of Charlestown, 17th June, 1775.

1 Lieutenant colonel, 2 majors, 7 captains, 9 lieutenants, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 191 rank and file, killed. 3 Majors, 27 captains, 32 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 40 serjeants, 12 drummers, 700 rank and file, wounded.

The congress of Massachusetts published the following account of the action:—

In obedience to the order of the general congress, this committee have inquired into the premises, and, upon the best information obtained, find,

that the commanders of the New England army had, about the 14th ult., received advice that general Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula at Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed; upon which it was determined, with the advice of this committee, to send a party, who might erect some fortifications upon the said hill, and defeat the design of our enemies. Accordingly, on the 16th ult., orders were issued that a detachment of one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown, and intrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the further part of the peninsula, next to Boston, (for by some mistake this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other). Many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the intrenchments being thrown up, which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design, it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon. They were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity; so that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy's upon Copp's Hill, in Boston, directly opposite our little redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by these upon our works. The Americans continued to labour indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy.

Between twelve and one o'clock a number of boats and barges, filled with the regular troops from Boston, were observed approaching towards Charlestown; these troops landed at a place called Moreton's Point, situated a little to the eastward of our works. This brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them; having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march towards our lines. At this instant, smoke and flames were seen to arise from the town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, that the smoke might cover their attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two of our regiments who had been posted in that town. If either of these was their design, they were disappointed; for the wind shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the regiments were already removed. Our troops, within their intrenchments, impatiently awaited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of small arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were observed by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up, with apparent reluctance, towards the intrenchments; the Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable reluctance to fighting in this cause, were again successful. They formed once

more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breast-work from one end of it to the other, our troops retreated within their little fort. The ministerial army now made a decisive effort. The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in the front of their army, was redoubled. The officers in the rear of their army were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions, and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breast-work on the outside of the fort was abandoned; our ammunition was expended, and but few of our troops had bayonets to affix to their muskets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party to retreat? but this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with regulars, and our troops had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the butt end of their muskets. The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of our men, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach; the engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evinced a courage worthy of a better cause: all their efforts however were insufficient to compel their equally gallant opponents to retreat, till their main body had left the hill; perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.

In this retreat the Americans had to pass over the neck which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land. This neck was commanded by the Glasgow man of war, and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner as that their shot raked every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this neck had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements from getting to our troops on the hill, and it was feared it would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the ministerial generals again took possession of the hill which had served them as a retreat in flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained, by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant but two miles, and which was not then in a state of defence. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased, when, by the best accounts from Boston, we are told, that of 3000 men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than 1500 (ninety-two of whom were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded; and about 1200 of them either killed or mortally wounded. Such a slaughter was perhaps never before made upon British troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of the engagement lasted, by about 1500 men, which were the most that were at any time engaged on the American side.

The loss of the New England army amounted, according to an exact return, to 145 killed and missing, and 304 wounded: thirty of the first were wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was major general JOSEPH WARREN, *a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valour shall be esteemed among mankind.* The heroic colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, has since died of his wounds; and the brave lieutenant colonel Parker, of Chelmsford, who was wounded

and taken prisoner, perished in Boston gaol. These three, with major Moore, and major M'Clary,* who nobly struggled in the cause of their country, were the only officers of distinction which we lost. Some officers of great worth, though inferior in rank, were killed, whom we deeply lament. But the officers and soldiers in general, who were wounded, are in a fair way of recovery. The town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were large and elegant, and which contained effects belonging to the unhappy sufferers in Boston, to a very great amount, was entirely destroyed, and its chimnies and cellars now present a prospect to the Americans, exciting an indignation in their bosoms, which nothing can appease but the sacrifice of those miscreants who have introduced horror, desolation, and havoc into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty.

We wish for no farther effusion of blood, if the freedom and peace of America can be secured without it; but if it must be otherwise, we are determined to struggle. We disdain life without liberty.

Oh Britons! be wise for yourselves before it is too late; and secure a friendly intercourse with the American colonies; disarm your ministerial assassins; put an end to this unnatural war, and suffer not any rapacious despots to amuse you with the unprofitable ideas of your *right to tax and officer the colonies*, till the most profitable and advantageous trade you have is sacrificed. Be wise for yourselves, and the Americans will contribute to and rejoice in your prosperity. J. PALMER, *per order*

[The following extract of a letter from Genl. Burgoyne, describing the battle of Bunker Hill, was originally published in a London Newspaper in September 1775. It was republished in Hall's New England Chronicle, printed at Cambridge November 24, 1775, and soon afterwards in Ede's Boston Gazette, then printed at Watertown in Massachusetts. The authenticity of the letter has never been questioned. It is repeatedly quoted in the *British military library*, a work of considerable reputation, and is called, General Burgoyne's letter to the Earl of Derby. In the "military memoirs" of General Burgoyne, (2d volume of the military library) we are told that he was a natural son of Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, the Nobleman to whom the following letter was addressed.]

Extract of a letter from General Burgoyne to a noble Lord, dated Boston June 25, (1775.)

Boston is a peninsula, joined to the main land only by a narrow neck, which, on the first troubles, General Gage fortified. Arms of the sea, and the harbour surround the rest. On the other side one of these arms, to the north, is Charlestown, or rather was, for it is now rubbish, and over it a large hill which is also (like Boston) a peninsula. To the south of the town, is a still larger scope of ground, containing three hills, joining also to the main by a tongue of land, and called Dorchester Neck. The heights above described, both north and south (in the soldier's phrase) command the town, that is give an opportunity of erecting batteries above any that you can make against them, and consequently much more advantageous. It was absolutely necessary we should make ourselves masters of these heights, and we proposed to begin with Dorchester; because from the particular situation of batteries and shipping (too long to describe and unintelligible to you if I did) it would evidently be effected without any considerable loss; every thing was accordingly disposed. My two colleagues and myself (who by the bye have never differed in one jot of military sentiment) had, in concert with

* This brave officer was killed by a cannon-ball on the retreat, whilst crossing Charlestown Neck. He was generally esteemed, and his loss much regretted.

Gen. Gage, formed the plan. Howe was to land the *transports** on the point, Clinton in the centre, and I was to cannonade from the causeway or the neck, each to take advantage of circumstances. The operations must have been very easy; this was to have been executed on the 18th. On the 17th, at dawn of day, we found the enemy had pushed intrenchments with great diligence, during the night, on the heights of Charlestown, and we evidently saw that every hour gave fresh strength; it therefore became necessary to alter our plan, and attack on that side. Howe, as second in command, was detached with about two thousand men, and landed on the outward side of the peninsula, covered by shipping, without opposition; he was to advance thence up the hill, which was over Charlestown, where the strength of the enemy lay; he had under him Brigadier Gen. Pigot; Clinton and myself took our stand (for we had not any fixed post) in a large battery, directly opposite to Charlestown, and commanding it, and also reaching the heights above it, and thereby facilitating Howe's attack. Howe's disposition was exceeding soldier-like; in my opinion it was perfect.† As his first army advanced up the hill, they met with a thousand impediments from strong fences, and were much exposed. They were also exceedingly hurt by musquetry, from Charlestown, though Clinton and I did not perceive it, till Howe sent us word by a boat, and desired us to set fire to the town, which was immediately done. We threw a parcel of shells and the whole was instantly in flames. Our battery afterwards kept up an incessant fire on the heights; it was seconded by a number of frigates, floating batteries and one ship of the line; and now ensued one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived. If we look to the heights, Howe's corps ascending the hill, in the face of intrenchments, and on a very disadvantageous ground, was much engaged; to the left the enemy pouring in fresh troops, by thousands, over the land; in the arm of the sea our ships and floating batteries cannonading them; straight before us, a large and noble town in one great blaze, the church steeples being of timber were great pyramids of fire above the rest; behind us the church steeples and heights of our own camp covered with spectators of the rest of our army which was [not] engaged; the hills round the country covered with spectators; the enemy all in anxious suspense, the roar of cannon, mortars and musquetry, the crush of churches, ships upon the stocks and whole streets falling together in ruins to fill the ear; the storm of the redoubts, with the objects above described to fill the eye, and the reflection that perhaps a defeat was a final loss to [of] the British empire in America to fill the mind, made the whole a picture and a complication

* Probably *troops*, in the original, or perhaps "from the transports" would be the correct reading, as part of the reinforcement which arrived at Boston, from England, with Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton were not landed until the day of Bunker Hill battle.

† In the opinion of many living witnesses, General Howe was chargeable with a capital error in landing and attacking as he did. It might originate from too great a confidence in the forces he commanded, and in too contemptuous an opinion of the enemy he had to encounter. He certainly might have landed in rear of the Americans, on the narrowest part of Charlestown neck, under the fire of the floating batteries and ships of war. Here he might have stationed and fortified his army, and kept up an open communication with Boston by water, which he would have commanded through the navy on each side of the peninsula. Had he adopted this plan of operations, the Americans on observing its tendency, must have made a rapid retreat from Breed's Hill, to prevent being inclosed and cut off: many military men incline to this opinion, which coincides with that expressed by Stedman.

of horror and importance beyond any thing that ever fell to my lot to be witness to.

I much lament Tom's* absence; it was a sight for a young soldier that the longest service may not furnish again, and had he been with me, he would likewise have been out of danger, for, except two cannonballs that went an hundred yards over our heads, we were not in any part of the direction of the enemy's shot. A moment of the day was critical. Howe's left were staggered; two battalions had been sent to reinforce them, but we perceived them on the beach seemingly in embarrassment what way to march. Clinton, then next for business, took the part, without waiting for orders, to throw himself into a boat to head them; he arrived in time to be of service; the day ended with glory, and the success was most important, considering the ascendancy it gave the regular troops; but the loss was uncommon in officers, for the numbers engaged.

Howe was untouched, but his aid-de-camp, Sherwin, was killed, Jordan, a friend of Howe's (who came *engagé de le cœur*, to see the campaign, a ship-mate of ours on board the Cerberus, and who acted as aid-de-camp) is badly wounded. Pigot was unhurt, but he behaved like a hero. You will see the list of loss. Poor col. Abercrombie, who commanded the grenadiers, died yesterday of his wounds, capt. Addison, our poor old friend, who arrived but the day before, and was to have dined with me on the day of action, was also killed, his son was upon the field at the same time, major Mitchel is but very slightly hurt; he is out already; young Chetwynd's wound is also slight. Lord Percy's regiment has suffered the most, and behaved the best, his Lordship himself was not in the action; Lord Rawdon† behaved to a charm; his name is established for life.

The following account from Boston, formed upon the testimonies of those found still surviving, who participated in the action, and who had the honour of pointing out to the President the ground, on his late visit, contains the particulars of their narration, corroborating, in the main points, the draught already given.

The peninsula of Charlestown is bounded on the north by the river Mystic, or Medford; on the south and south-west by Charles river, which separates it from Boston by a channel about a mile broad; and on the east by Boston harbour. On this peninsula rises an eminence called "Bunker's Hill," near which is another called Breed's Hill; this eminence has an easy ascent from the isthmus, but is steep on every other side; at the bottom of the hill, and on the side towards Boston, stands the town of Charlestown. Bunker's Hill overlooks the whole of Boston, and is sufficiently near the town to command it with a battery. The pos-

* His nephew the Hon. Thomas Stanley brother of Lord Stanley who is gone a volunteer to Boston in his Majesty service.

[The above note accompanied the original publication of the letter in England. The word "His" is to be understood as referring to the nobleman to whom the letter was addressed. He died in 1776, and was succeeded by his nephew, Lord Stanley. It was upon the marriage of Lord Stanley with Lady Betty Hamilton, and the *fête champêtre* given on that occasion, at a place called the Oaks, in the county of Surrey, that Genl. Burgoyne wrote his, "Maid of the Oaks."]

† Better known, of late years, as Earl of Moira, an eloquent speaker, and long the friend and counsellor of the Prince Regent of Great Britain, now governor general of the British possessions in the East Indies, and recently elevated to the title of marquis of Hastings.

session of this eminence, therefore, was an object of great importance, both to the Americans, who were collecting at Cambridge, and the British, who had possession of Boston, under general Gage, the new governor.

The Americans moved on from Cambridge in the night, passed the isthmus and took possession of the hill unobserved, although the British ships of war and transports almost surrounded the peninsula. It happened, from some misapprehension, that the troops took possession of Breed's Hill instead of Bunker's Hill, which had been designated in the orders, and it is this hill which is in the sketch called Bunker's Hill, and on which the action in fact took place. Here the Americans threw up a small redoubt, about eight rods square, and an intrenchment reaching to the bottom of the hill, towards Mystic river. These works were nearly completed during the night of the 16th of June, and were not discovered by the enemy until daylight, when the alarm was given by a cannonading which commenced upon the American works from the Lively ship of war, then lying off Charlestown. The British troops were immediately put in motion, and a battery of six guns was soon opened upon the Americans, from Copp's Hill, in Boston. About noon, a detachment from the British army, consisting of one regiment of light infantry, one regiment of grenadiers, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d regiments of the regular army, were landed upon the eastern point of the peninsula, under the command of maj. gen. Howe, and brig. gen. Pigot, with orders to dislodge the Americans, and drive them from the peninsula. The British troops formed immediately after landing, having in front six pieces of cannon; but so formidable was the appearance of the American works, that the generals thought proper to send orders for reinforcements, and to await their arrival; but in the mean time, to continue a cannonading upon the Americans, who took advantage of this delay to construct a kind of *abattis*, of posts and rails set in two parallel lines, near each other, having the space between filled full of grass and hay, which, having been just cut, lay spread on the ground.

At length the reinforcements, consisting of the 47th regiment, and a body of marines, landed on the south part of the peninsula, on the east side of the town, and immediately formed to receive their orders. The whole of the British forces were then immediately put in motion. The artillery, accompanied by three companies of grenadiers, moved in a direct line towards the American works on the hill, and the light infantry marched in companies, by double files, along the beach, to attack the right of the *abattis*, which the Americans had extended to the shore of Mystic river. The artillery was stopped by a marsh near the foot of the hill, and, being unable to proceed further in that direction, took station near an old brick kiln, whence they attempted to annoy the American works, but with very little effect.

The light infantry proceeded along the shore, unmolested, until they arrived within about twelve rods of the *abattis*, when the Americans suddenly opened a very heavy and destructive fire upon them, which threw them into much confusion, and caused them to retreat. They, however, recovered, and formed a line in front of and parallel to the *abattis*, at the distance of one hundred yards, where they kept up a well directed fire, with four companies of grenadiers on their left. While the infantry was thus attempting to force the *abattis*, and forming their line in front of it, the different regiments formed the line on their left, ex-

tending along in front of the American works on the hill. The reinforcements, which had by this time arrived in front of the redoubt, formed on the left of the 43d, with three companies of grenadiers and three of light infantry on their right. Thus the redoubt and breast-work were attacked on three sides at the same time. The whole of the British force amounted to about three thousand men; their right commanded by major general Howe, and their left by brigadier general Pigot. The American force, at the commencement of the action, amounted to one thousand men, under the command of colonel Prescott; but, while the British were awaiting the arrival of their reinforcements, and were cannonading from Moreton's Point, the Americans were also reinforced by the arrival of a body of volunteers and others, amounting to about five hundred men, under the command of generals Warren and Pomeroy. Twice had the British been checked and driven back, but as they had now succeeded in placing their cannon in a position to rake the American works, and as the fire from Copp's Hill and the ships in the harbour was again warmly renewed, the British commander gave orders to set the town on fire, and to storm the American works. At this juncture general Clinton, who had just crossed over from Boston, assisted in rallying the troops and leading them on to the charge. The attack now became general; but as the British had arrived very near to the breast-work, the powder of the Americans began to fail, and the force of their fire was very much weakened at the moment when it would have been the most destructive.

The British pushed forward, mounted the walls of the redoubt and breast-work, and carried them both at the point of the bayonet; the Americans continued retreating and fighting with the butt-ends of their guns, many of them not having bayonets. At this moment the town of Charlestown, which consisted of about five hundred houses, appeared in one great flame, and the firing from Copp's Hill, whence the rockets had been thrown, ceased: the heights of Boston were covered with spectators, composed of the citizens, and British troops, who had a full view of all the operations, and saw at once the destruction of the town, the capture of the redoubt, and the retreat of the American troops. The Americans retreated over Charlestown Neck, where they were much annoyed by the Glasgow man of war, and two gondolas, which had been stationed near the neck for that purpose, and also to prevent the Americans from sending reinforcements and supplies. The British lost 1054 men in killed and wounded; and the loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and missing, was 453; among the former of whom was the brave WARREN.

The British pursued the Americans to the isthmus, and the 52d regiment encamped there during the night. The remaining troops returned to Charlestown. The day following the British threw up a breast-work on Bunker's Hill, which commands the neck of the peninsula; and, leaving a detachment to defend it, the remaining troops crossed into Boston.

Such was the battle of Breed's Hill—erroneously called the battle of *Bunker's Hill*—which was fought on the 17th of June, 1775, and was the first important action that took place in that revolution, which, to use the words of Mr. Pitt, “deprived the diadem of Britain of its finest jewel, and created a great and powerful empire in the west.”

ART. XII.—POLITICAL SUMMARY.

The continued prevalence of strong gales from the west and north west, renders the arrival of intelligence from Europe more precarious than at any other period of the year. Notwithstanding the perfection to which the art of seamanship has been reduced by our experienced mariners, the difficulty of approach to our coast, during the winter months, is such as to retard expected arrivals. The spring is now advancing, and we may look for more regular accounts of the posture of affairs in the old world, as the stir of bustle and activity is resumed there. That portion of the year is just elapsed, which, in most countries, is appropriated to the regulation of matters of internal interest,—when the rigours of nature seem to impose restraints upon energy, and to have singled it out for design and preparation.

A diminution of the combined army of occupation in France, will probably be one of the first public measures to which the attention of the allied sovereigns will be called in the early part of the year—a measure urged by France, on the ground of her incompetence to meet the enormous demands made on her treasury, to discharge the debts incurred by French armies, during the Napoleon dynasty, in countries over-run by their power. It is her object to reduce the amount formerly stipulated to be paid for supplies furnished to the foreign troops, pleading, that both objects combined, exceed her expectation and ability to comply with. The request will, in all probability, be acceded to, since the public tranquillity admits of it, and, the reduction of their forces is an object of œconomy to the different powers concerned, on whom the expence of cloathing and equipping their several contingents, was understood to rest.

An expedition from Brest, under the command of general St. Cyr, took possession of Cayenne, an old colony belonging to France, on the 8th, November last. This settlement, on the north east coast of South America, it will be recollected, was taken during the late war, by a joint expedition of Portuguese and British, fitted out at the Brazils, the naval department of which was commanded by the English captain, J. L. Yeo, and on its surrender was ceded to Portugal, by an understand-

ing with the British government. *Cayenne* is situated between the equator, and the fifth degree of north latitude, and between the fiftieth, and the fifty fifth of west longitude. The island of Cayenne, which gives its name to the territory, lies at the mouth of a river bearing the same appellation, and is about forty five miles in circuit. The possession of this island gives command of the river, and ensures the submission of the rest of the settlement. It was this point therefore, that captain Yeo first took care to gain. It has some good harbours, and produces sugar and coffee. The territory on the adjacent continent, extends about two hundred and forty miles along the coast of Guiana, and near three hundred miles within land. It is bounded on the north by Surinam; on the east by the Atlantic Ocean; on the south by Amazonia; and by Guiana on the west. It begins at cape Orange, and extends as far to the south as the river Amazon. The red pungent pepper, known by the name of *Cayenne*, is celebrated over the world. In Cayenne, indeed, are raised very considerable quantities of the commodities which France receives from the West Indies.

It is in a colonial policy, and a cultivation of the peaceful pursuits of commerce, that France will find her truest interests.

From Russia we have no direct advices since the close of the Baltic for the season. The last intelligence of the emperor's movements, left him at Moscow, where he intended passing the winter, purposing to set out in spring for the southern provinces of his immense empire. He was to proceed to Astracan, Odessa, and Cherson, inspecting particularly the fertile districts of the Crimea. Much good may result from this journey, if his imperial majesty carries with him the disposition to rectify abuses, and introduce judicious systems of administration throughout those distant regions. We are happy to hear that the colonists from Scotland, who, of late years, have settled in great numbers in Poland, enjoy the utmost privileges, and that since the vice-royalty of the grand duke Constantine (brother of the emperor) at Warsaw, the most favourable changes have been operated throughout the Polish dominions. There have been established, not only schools for the sci-

ences, but also a great number of elementary seminaries, which are already on a respectable footing. The method of Pestolozzi is followed in some parts of Poland; but that of Bell and Lancaster seems better suited to the country, and the emperor has given orders for an extensive academy to be opened at Warsaw, under the management of one of the young Russians who had been studying this method in England, at the expence of the government. These symptoms indicate an enlightened spirit in the Russian councils.

There is an article in the *Dutch Papers*, dated from *St. Petersburg* which states, that the emperor of China has expressed a wish to have ambassadors at his court, from foreign powers—such, we suppose, as are willing to accede to the Tartar. Obeisance of nine inclinations of the head to the ground, so decidedly opposed by lord Amherst, on the recent embassy from Great Britain. That Russia will have an ambassador at that court, there is very little doubt, and that her influence was exerted on a late occasion, is a conjecture too probable to be overlooked. Russian politics have insinuated themselves through the remotest recesses of Tartary, into the Chinese dominions.

To give an idea of the commerce of the Baltic, it may be sufficient to state, that, in the third quarter of the last year, 2614 ships passed the sound from the north sea, and 2549 from the Baltic. Among the latter were 858 English, 382 Swedish, 285 Russian, 274 Dutch, 176 Norwegian, 124 Danish, 52 American, 86 Bremen, 81 Hanoverian, and 16 Hamburgh vessels.

In Sweden, the policy of allowing the exportation of timber in foreign vessels, upon the payment of the same duties as in national ships has been agitated; against which the ship owners and the whole Board of Trade in that country have declared, with the exception of the president, baron Edelkrantz. In the opinion given by the latter, we find the following remarkable facts “of the 24 governments, the 13 most populous alone, contain 2,400 square miles (meaning German or Swedish square miles, equal to 25 English) or 45 millions tons of land, covered with woods: as 6000 cubic feet are the smallest annual produce of one ton of land (so called from its being calculated to produce a certain quantity of corn) it follows

that 120 square miles are sufficient for the consumption of the mines, of the lime-kilns, of the tar-manufactories, fences, ship building, and fuel; and the produce of 2280 square miles may be spared for exportation. This exportation has hitherto amounted, on an average, to 57,000 beams, 23,000 spars, and 175,000 deals, worth 900,000 rix dollars. Now, as this whole exportation of 5,000,000 of cubic feet, require only four square miles to grow again in 100 years, the imagination is confounded at the immensity of the treasures which nature annually produces, and again suffers to decay without use, in these solitudes; and every patriot must be grieved when he sees that so small a part of them turns to the advantage of the country. A single parish lately afforded to the crown a forest covering 50,000 tons of land, or three fourths of the extent used for our whole exportation of timber, in order to be excused from a certain contribution. In the most favourable conjunctures, Norway exported annually to the amount of 5,000,000 of dollars, Hamburgh banco money.

These facts show, from the best authority, the capabilities of Sweden, and the advantage that would arise from extending the privilege of free export to foreign vessels, so as to take off her surplus produce, thereby turning to account the dead capital of the country.

Austria is using every exertion to increase her manufactories, her commerce, and her mercantile connexions. What Venice has been, every one acquainted with history well knows, and the port of Trieste is already become of immense resort. Steps have been taken to profit by the recent nuptials, in establishing a brisk intercourse with Brazil.

The prosperity of all classes in Prussia, is on the increase—public and private credit improve, and rents of houses are rising; the wages of labour are 33 per cent. higher than they were before the war in 1816, while the government is setting the extraordinary example of repaying the national debt in specie. Obligations have been extinguished to the amount of 2,200,000 florins,—a circumstance which must raise the credit of that state.

The finances of the kingdom of the Netherlands, we are happy to state also, are recovering from their former

depression. It will appear, from the following *Invitation to the gold coast*, that this shrewd and industrious power is not unmindful of those maxims of colonial policy, the observance of which, in former times, contributed so materially to uphold her commercial and naval renown.

"As the maintaining of a Dutch settlement on the coast of Guinea has for its object, not only to benefit trade, but also to derive all possible advantage from the fruitful soil of Africa, for the cultivation of colonial produce, and to make use of it for the mother country, it may not be unimportant to the public to be informed, that all persons or families, who are not wholly without resources of their own, and who may be inclined to settle on the gold coast, in the neighbourhood of d'Elmina, will receive every possible facility on the part of government. The European colonists may advantageously employ their knowledge and their industry in the cultivation of that fertile country; and the colonization of this Netherland possession, which, as well as the trade to those parts, will receive every encouragement from the state. The department of trade and colonies affords more particular information to all such as desire it."

The eye to *trade*, so significant in this paragraph, still is the distinguishing characteristic, and probably ever will be, of Dutchmen; and if to this be added, profound views in political economy, such as gave a lasting name to the great De Witt and his followers, in the

annals of their country, we may regard them as sure prognostics of returning prosperity. In proof of the increase of Dutch commerce, it is sufficient to state that, by a careful enumeration made on the 19th September last, seven hundred and nine vessels were ascertained to be lying before the city of Amsterdam alone. Contrasting this with a period when, under the reign of despotism, grass was literally growing on its exchange, what an important improvement has been effected, happily for the interests of the nation, in all the departments of active life! in navigation, in foreign adventure, in manufactures, (to supply it and home consumption) in the employ for population, always attracted by demand, nourished and maintained by trade! That the government of the Netherlands views these matters in a proper light, we are disposed to infer from another circumstance. Several linen manufacturers of the district of Cambray (where the fine cambrics are made,) having represented that many of the thread looms were unemployed, for want of means to purchase thread, the king, on the report of the minister of the interior, ordered that the sum of 100,000 Dutch florins should be advanced to those manufacturers.

The latest advices from Great Britain bring nothing of consequence to require our notice. Of Spain and South America, it is our intention to treat at large, on some early occasion, among the leading articles of a future number, to which opportunity we postpone our farther observations.

ART. XIII.—*Notoria; or Miscellaneous Articles of Philosophy, Literature, &c.*

USEFUL ARTS.

Mr. Smeaton, the celebrated engineer, made use of the following composition, as a cement in building the Eddystone Light House, near Plymouth, viz. A mixture of *Lime of blue Lys*, and *Puzzolana* in equal quantities.

— *Ed.*

One of the public societies in the Netherlands has proposed the following as a prize question—which might well deserve the imitation of such Institutions here. 'What are the faults with which certain kinds of bricks made in this country are chargeable? By what means may they be rendered more perfect? What are the materials and the processes used, for the fabrication of

certain kinds of bricks, in which our makers are deficient? *ib.*

AGRICULTURE.

New oats from Russia.—This variety has been sown in the south west of Scotland, during the last and present year, and found to be earlier than any other oat sown in the same neighbourhood; in 1816 it was a fortnight before the Sun oat, which is more forward than the potatoe oat. It will probably gain ground in rich but late soils; and in lands rather coarser and more exposed than what is suitable for the latter, for it is not so liable to shake, though in appearance and habit it is somewhat like it. The Sun oat has become a fa-

vourite in Scotland, and premiums are given by the Agricultural Society there, for the best samples of it for seed. The Russian oat is expected to come soon into request for the same purpose. In its native country, it is, according to the report of Dr. Rogerson, sown later than any other, commonly in May. It is to Dr. R. that the public is indebted for its introduction into Britain.

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AGRICULTURAL.

Horse Chesnuts.—In Turkey, these nuts, the use of which has been neglected in every other country, are ground and mixed with the provender for horses, particularly for such as are broken-winded or troubled with coughs. After being boiled a little, to take off the bitterness, bruised and mixed with a small quantity of barley meal, they are a good food for rearing and fattening poultry.

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Oil cakes, given to Milch cows, add considerably to the quantity and richness of their yield, without affecting its flavour. That distinguished agriculturist, Mr. J. C. Curwen, in his reports to the Workington Society for the Improvement of Agriculture, states that, in the course of his successful experiments, he finds the best mode of administering the oil cake, to be that of grinding it, mixing it in layers, and boiling it with the chaff, by which means, half the quantity answers better than as much more given in the cake. Oil cake has long been used with success, as the best method of fattening oxen, speedily, for the knife.

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FINE ARTS.

The Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts will be opened in the commencement of May next, and continue six weeks. The objects in view being to display the progress of *Painting* in the U. States, to assist public judgment, and improve native artists by a comparison of their works, it is confidently hoped that the artists will aid such important purpo-

ses, by forwarding to the academy some of their works for exhibition, where they will be received with thanks, and preserved with care; if intended for sale, they will please to give their instructions to the academy, addressed to Mr. Francis Hopkinson, secretary to the institution.

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Female Influence.—When Haydn was in England, one of the princes commissioned sir Joshua Reynolds to take his portrait. Haydn went to the painter's house, and sat to him, but soon grew tired. Sir Joshua, careful of his reputation, would not paint a man of acknowledged genius with a stupid countenance; and deferred the sitting till another day. The same weariness and want of expression occurring at the next attempt, Reynolds went to the prince and informed him of the circumstance, who contrived a stratagem. He sent to the painter's house a pretty German girl in the service of the queen. Haydn took his seat for the third time, and as soon as the conversation began to flag, a curtain rose, and the fair German addressed him in his native language, with a most elegant compliment. Haydn, delighted, overwhelmed the enchantress with questions; his countenance recovered its animation, and sir Joshua rapidly seized its traits.

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Wm. Winston, Esq. late judge advocate of the United States army, has ready for the press a treatise on martial law, and courts martial—in 2 vols. octavo.

This compilation is adapted to the army and navy of the United States, with precedents of decisions of courts martial in the United States as well as Great Britain; and the general rules of evidence, alike applicable to courts martial, as the courts of Law, with appendix containing the rules and articles for the government of the army and navy of the United States, and the several laws of congress regulating either.